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THE DEPARTURE OF ALCIBIADES FOR SICILY

PLATES I-II

WITHIN the past few years several carefully written papers have been published dealing with the reconstruction of the inscription which preserves the record of moneys borrowed from the treasurers of Athena by the Athenian State during the quadrennium from 418/7 to 415/4 B.C.¹ This inscription is now given in the *Editio Minor* of the *Corpus* as *I.G.*, I², 302. The most important result of these studies has been the determination that the number of letters in each line of the text of the document was 85, at least for the records of the years 418/7 and 417/6. New restorations in the inscription are, of course, necessitated in many places by the discovery of the correct length of line, and the text as given in the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY* (XXXII, 1928, Plate IV) supersedes the text as given in the *Corpus* for the record of the two years in question.

The record of the year 416/5 is cut on the stone in letters of the same size as those of the preceding years, although West believes that here there were less than 85 letters in each line. His restorations are made to conform to a line of 83 or 84 letters.² The record of the year 415/4 is cut in smaller letters and the certain restorations of the text, as given in the *Corpus*, indicate lines of 96 letters each.

It is my conviction, however, that in the record of the year 416/5 there were normally 85 letters in each line, just as there were in the records of the two preceding years. West has shown that the letters in lines 35 and 36 are spaced somewhat more widely than the letters in the lines above, but the small part of lines 35 and 36 which is preserved can hardly be taken as characteristic of the lines as a whole. When we turn to the concluding lines of the record for 416/5,³ we find the same irregularity in the spacing of the letters horizontally upon the stone. In the last lines of this list the letters are not placed in perfect *stoichedon* order one above the other, but as we proceed downward toward the bottom of the inscription the letters in each succeeding line are set out slightly toward the right of

¹ West, A. B., Notes on Payments Made by the Treasurers of Athena in 416/5 B.C., *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), pp. 3-16 and Plate I.

West, A. B., and McCarthy, B. P., A Revision of *I.G.*, I², 302, *A.J.A.*, XXXII (1928), pp. 346-352 and Plate IV.

West, A. B., *I.G.*, I², 302, lines 35-47, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII (1929), pp. 37-40.

² West, A. B., *I.G.*, I², 302, lines 35-47, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII (1929), p. 39.

³ Cf. Plate I accompanying this article, and also *A.J.A.*, XXXIII (1929), p. 37, figure 1.

the corresponding letters immediately above. This is particularly noticeable when we attempt to follow the vertical alignment from, let us say, the *kappa* in the name [N]υκεράτο of line 50.¹ However,

this increasingly wide spacing of letters is compensated by a corresponding crowding of letters before the end of the line is reached. One may notice particularly the ends of lines 52, 54, and 56. We need not, therefore, assume any lessening of the number of letters in these lines. Not only is the requisite number of letters made possible by crowding at the ends of the lines, but the lines themselves extend more nearly to the edge of the stone than was the case in the records of the two preceding years. In these three lines, also, there was added at the very edge of the stone the final *iota* of the name Λαμάχοι, giving lines of 86 letters each instead of lines of 85 letters.

These irregularities are all before us on that part of the stone which has been preserved, and they appear near the ends of the lines. It may be seen by a glance at Plate I that toward the centre of the document (lines 54-57) the perfectly vertical

FIGURE 1. FRAGMENT C OF I.G. II, 302.

¹ The lines in this inscription are numbered as on Plates I and II accompanying this article.



stoichedon order was still preserved, the initial *iota* of line 54 falling directly above the *nu* beneath it, this *nu* in turn falling directly above the *iota* below, and this *iota* falling directly above the initial *nu* in the preserved portion of line 57. The only irregularities in spacing occur to the right of this sequence, where, as we have seen, wide spacing was counterbalanced by subsequent crowding. Only in



FIGURE 2. FRAGMENTS a AND b OF I.G. I², 302.

line 57 was there no compensatory crowding at the end of the line, and I attribute to this line 84 letters instead of 85.

I have also taken measurements from the edge of the stone which show that the initial *alpha* of 'Αντιμάχοι in lines 55 and 57 falls directly under the 48th letter of the lines above, as it would have to be placed in the restoration of the first two lists of this inscription which are known to have contained 85 letters in each line (cf. Plate I). A further check on the one to one correspondence between the list of the year 416/5 and the lists of the two preceding years is given by the observation that the first *sigma* in *τές πρώτας* of line 49 is exactly the same distance from the right lateral edge of the stone as the *tau* in *[πρώτος* of line 23. Since this is the 63rd letter

of line 23, and since we find a perfect one to one correspondence between the letters of lines 23 and 49 from this point to the end, it seems conclusive that both lines contained the same number of letters (85) and that the *sigma* which was used as a point of comparison is also the 63rd letter of line 49.

I give in detail the reasons for believing that the list of the year 416/5 should be restored with a normal line of 85 letters, because this particular list, with its record of payments made to the generals who were about to set forth to Sicily, is perhaps the most important part of the document and consequently deserving of our most careful attention. To the reasons I have already adduced may be added the *a priori* consideration that one does not expect the stonemason to change from a line of 85 letters to a line of 83 or 84 letters while writing with the same size of letters and the same interlineation as before.

Lines 49 and 50 may now be readily restored as follows:

[.....]⁵¹.....ει *heμέραι*]
 τῆς πρυτανείας στρατεγούσις Ἀλ
 [κιβιάδει Κλενίο Σκαμβονίδει Λαμάχοι Χσενοφάρον *κοέθεν* Νικίαι Νικεράτο
 Κυδαντίδει καὶ παρέδρο[. .]

The text as given in the *Corpus* is correct, except that 51 letters instead of 49 must be restored before the final —ει of the date in line 49. At the end of the line also there was no room for more than the two initial letters of the name Ἀλκιβιάδει, and at the end of line 50 there was room for only two letters after the preserved παρέδρο —.¹

I suggest that line 50 should be completed by reading παρέδρο[ι]. There were in fact three *paredroi* associated with the generals in charge of the expedition, for it is only by this assumption that suitable restorations can be found for the *lacunae* in lines 51, 53, 55, and 57. The same names, with demotics, must be restored in all of these lines. One may notice the scrupulous care that was exercised in recording in a uniform way the individual members of any particular board. It is regularly the case that when one member of a board (as the *paredros* Antimachus here) is listed by his name and demotic alone, the other members of the board are also listed by name and demotic alone. Variants are possible, but not within the membership of a single board. In line 30, for example, the names of the *hellenotamiae* were given with the demotic alone while the names of the generals were given with both patronymic and demotic. The only apparent exception to this rule is in line

¹ Cf. Plate I for the disposition of the letters. Cf. also West, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII (1929), pp. 37-39.



I.G. 13 302

ΕΓΓΙΤΕΣ 10 Ι ΔΩΣΓΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΑΣΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΥΟΥΣ ΣΗΕΛΛΕΝΟΤΑΜΙΑΙΣΕΡΛΟΚΛΕΙΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΒΕΣΑΙ ΕΙΑΙΧ ΚΟΝΕΙΑΚΙΣΥΝΑΡΧΟΣ ΙΚΑΙΓΑΡΕΔΡΟΙΣΗΕΠΟΚΛΕΙΑΡΧΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΑΘΜΟΝΕΙΚΑΙΣΥΝΑΡΧΟ ΚΟΣΤΕΤΕΣΓΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΑΣΠΑΡΔΟΜΕΝ ΤΕΚΑΙΧΡΥΣΟΚΥΤΙΚΕΝΟΣΤΑΤΕΡΣΣΧΥΧ

ΝΤΟΙ ΣΤΡΙΕΡΑΡΧΟΙ ΣΕ ΕΠΙΓΑΛΛΟΣΤΟΙ ΣΜΕΤΑΔΕΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΣΦΕΦΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΤΟΔΕΜΟΝΔΕΙΑΝ
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ΕΓΙΤΕΣ ΚΙΒΙΔΑ	ΕΓΙΤΕΣ ΝΙΚΙΑΙ	ΕΓΙΤΕΣ ΝΙΚΙΑΙ	ΕΓΙΤΕΣ ΝΙΚΙΑΙ
50		55	

APPENDIX

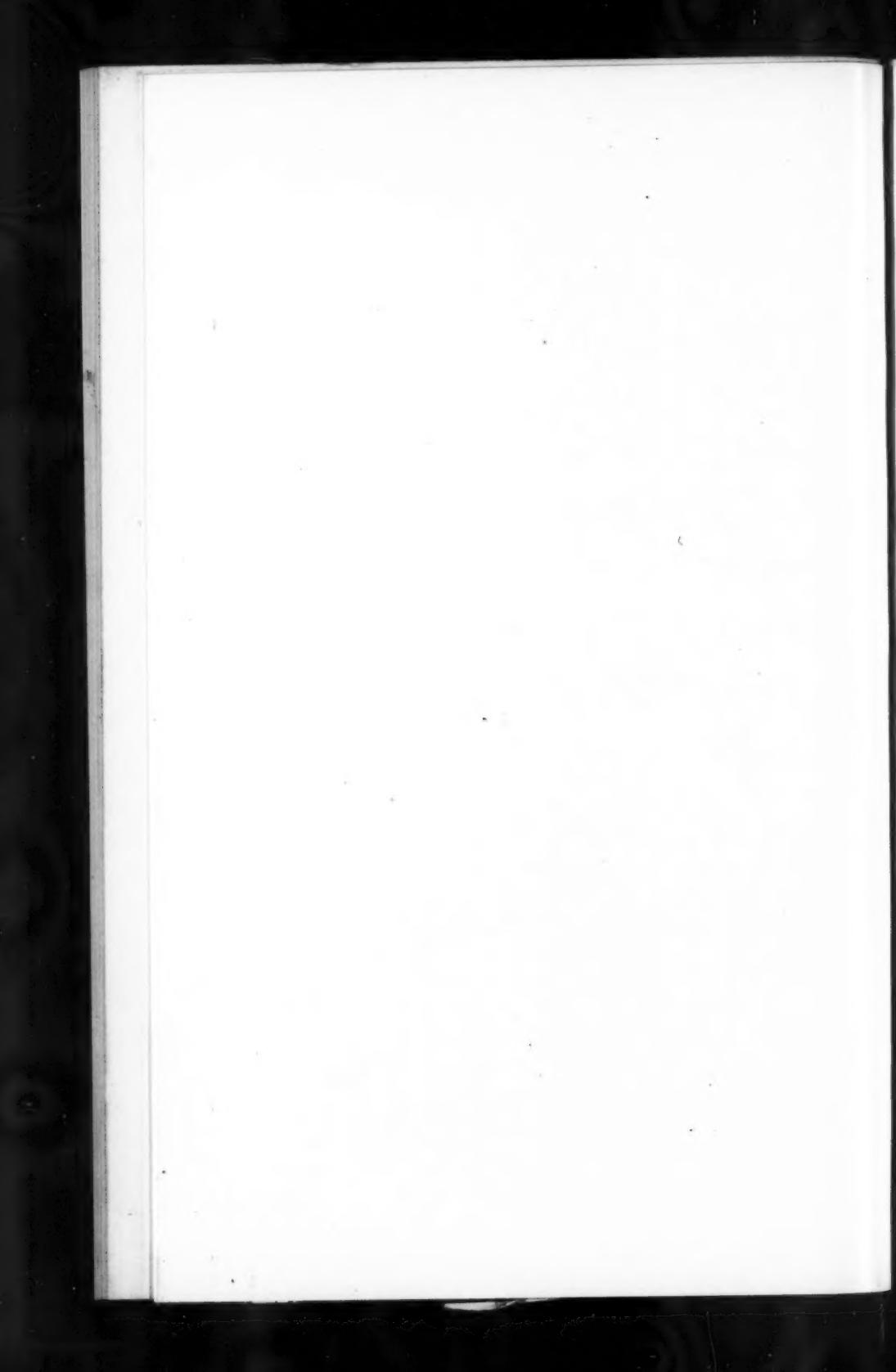
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80 K. E. φΑΛΑΙΟΝΑΝΑΛΟΜΑΤΟΣΤΟΣΕΝΙΤΕΣ



19, where the name of one paredros has been restored in the *Corpus* as [Χσ]ερο[κλείδει?], without either patronymic or demotic, while the name of the other paredros is restored with both patronymic and demotic. The name Χσεροκλείδει is too long by one letter for the space available on the stone, and the restoration has been omitted

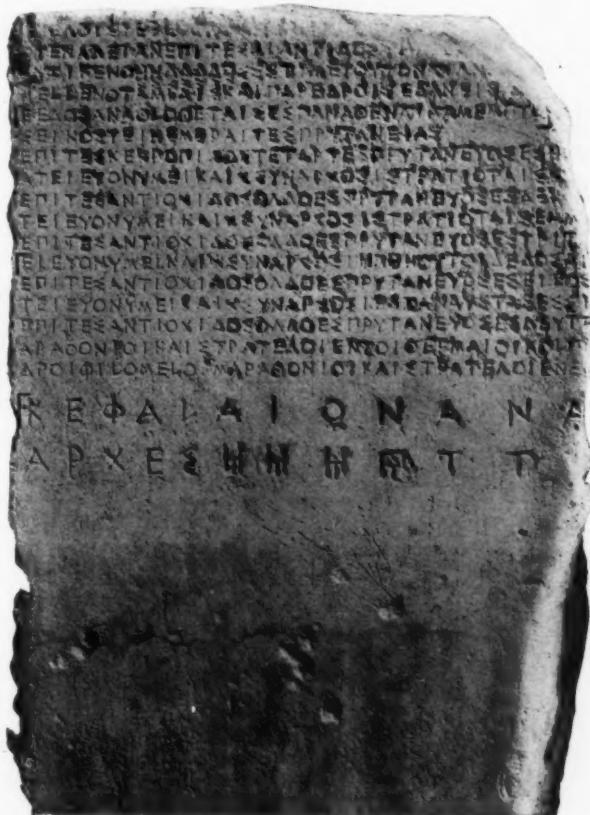


FIGURE 3. FRAGMENT d OF I.G. I¹, 302.

in the text as given by West and McCarthy,¹ although they apparently believe that a proper name should be restored in this place. It seems to me certain that the letters ENO should not be restored as part of any proper name. I suggest, merely by way of example, that we should read the line as follows: [έδροι ἐλλ]ερο-

¹ West and McCarthy, *A.J.A.*, XXXII (1928), Plate IV.

[τριῶν ἡ]εροκλεῖ Ἀρχεστράτῳ [Ἀθυμοῖ — — etc.]. In line 20 the restoration of the final words κ[αὶ παρέδροι?] is also unsatisfactory, and I suggest that the *kappa* which is here preserved on the stone is the initial letter of the name of a third general who was a colleague of Nikias and Kallistratus. This name must have been followed also by the patronymic and demotic, for which there was ample room on the stone (cf. Plate I).

West first proposed that the *lacunae* in lines 53, 55, and 57 should be supplied by restoring the patronymic of the name of Lamachus without the demotic, followed by the complete name of Nikias with both patronymic and demotic, and then by the words καὶ παρέδροι.¹ Kirchner has pointed out the anomaly of this restoration,² and West has since expressed himself in favor of some alternative proposal.³ To my mind West's original suggestion is impossible not only because it necessitates the assumption of a line of 83 letters, but also because of the irregularity in the official record of the names. In lines 49 and 50 the names of the generals are all given in full. Where we find the name of Alcibiades given in lines 52, 54, and 56 without either the patronymic or the demotic, the necessary deduction is that the names of Lamachus and Nikias also appeared without either patronymic or demotic. The *lacunae* between the names of Nikias and Antimachus in lines 53, 55, and 57 are to be restored by reading

name and demotic	29	name and demotic
Nikias καὶ παρέδροις		Ἀντιμάχου

ἥρμελοι, etc.

It will be observed that the 29 letter spaces which we have not restored are quite appropriate for the names of the two *paredroi*, with demotics, who were colleagues of Antimachus. The three generals were associated directly with three *paredroi*, just as we find the two generals in charge of the expedition to Melos associated with two *paredroi* in lines 30 and 31 above.

It is apparent from this inscription that four payments were made from the treasury of Athena to the generals in command of the expedition to Sicily before their departure in the summer of 415. An indeterminate amount of stone has been lost from the centre of the inscription, so that one cannot be certain what item appeared in line 48, or in the lines immediately preceding, but we do know that whatever the item here may have been it was not concerned with the expedition to Sicily. In lines 49 and 50 the names of the three generals are given in full. Subsequent payments to these

¹ West, *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), Plate I.

² *S.E.G.*, III, 34.

³ West, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII (1929), p. 39.

generals were recorded more briefly, with the names of the generals listed without patronymics and demotics. If the item recorded in lines 49 and 50 were not the first payment made in connection with this expedition, we should expect to find there also the abbreviated form of the record. The fact that the names of the generals are all given in full, however, indicates that the payment recorded in lines 49 and 50 was the first which they received from the treasurers of Athena.

It is an invariable rule, throughout this inscription, that the record of each payment began at the left margin of the stone. We may restore, therefore, in line 49:

[Ἐπὶ τὸς — — — ἡδος — — — πρυτανεῖδος — — — εἰς ἡμέραι] τὸς
πρυτανεῖα[σ στρατε]γο[ις Ἄλ]

The records of the other payments below begin also at the left margin of the stone. Here it seems at first glance impossible to make any satisfactory restoration of the dates from the evidence available, but nevertheless some determinations can be effected. It has been pointed out above (p. 127) that the initial *alpha* of the word 'Ἀντιμάχος in lines 55 and 57 is the 48th letter of the line. Since the initial *sigma* of *στρατεγοῖς* in lines 52, 54, and 56 falls two letter spaces to the right of this *alpha*, it must in each case be the 50th letter of the line. The formula of date occupied, therefore, 49 letter spaces on the stone. It will be observed that the word *στρατεγοῖς* falls in exactly the same place on the stone in all three of these lines.

Several restorations have been tentatively proposed for the dates given in these lines. An original suggestion of West¹ that these lines contained dates by civil month as well as by the senatorial calendar (*S.E.G.*, III, 34) has since been withdrawn by him.² I shall not discuss this suggestion further, for any restoration of this nature is clearly impossible, and out of harmony with the consistent usage of this inscription in giving the dates only by the name and sequence of the prytanizing tribe.³ One may notice as a further practical difficulty that an *iota* is preserved before the word *στρατεγοῖς* in line 54 which cannot be reconciled with any satisfactory sequence of dates by civil month. The further suggestion has been made that perhaps the date in each of the three lines in question should be restored as follows (*e.g.* in line 56): [Ἐπὶ τὸς . . . ἡδος δεκάτες πρυτανεῖδος τὴν αὐρήν ἡμέρα]. This restoration assumes a line of 84 letters.⁴ Since we are dealing with a line of 85 letters we might

¹ West, *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), pp. 14-15.

² West, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII (1929), p. 40.

³ Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 96.

⁴ West, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII (1929), p. 40.

change the name of the tribe by adding one more letter and make the tentative restoration: ['Επὶ τέσ ἴδος δεκάτες πρυτανεύοντες τέοι αὐτέοι *hepέρ]αi*. But West has pointed out that this restoration necessitates the assumption that all four payments to the generals



FIGURE 4. FRAGMENT e OF I.G. I¹, 302.

who were to sail against Sicily were made on the same day. This he considers improbable. The suggestion is certainly to be rejected.

Now, it is a significant fact that the formula of date, whatever it may have been in full, ended in line 56 with the letters *-at*.

This can only be restored in part of a date by prytany as [*heμέρ*]αι. The *iota* before the word *στρατεγοῖς* in line 54 should also be restored as [*heμέρα*]*i*. And this same word must have formed part of the formula of date in line 52 as well. These dates must, in fact, all be read according to the following skeleton form: 'Επὶ τέσ——ιδος πρυτανεύοεσ —— —— *heμέραι στρατεγοῖς*, etc., where the actual date occupies 49 letter spaces on the stone. There is no difficulty in the omission of the usual words *τέσ πρυτανείας* after the word *heμέραι*, especially since the omission is not a matter of restoration, but of reading from the stone. The final letters of the word *heμέραι* are preserved in lines 54 and 56 where they are followed directly by the word *στρατεγοῖς*.¹

The date of the departure of the fleet is given by Thucydides (VI, 30, 1) as *θέρος μεσοῦντος* ηδη, and since the actual departure must have taken place very shortly after the last payment was made to the generals in command it is evident that, whatever the day of the prytany on which the payment was made, the prytany itself must have been the tenth, or final, prytany of the senatorial year 416/5. If reference is made to a table of correspondences between the senatorial and Julian calendars it will be found that Pryt. I, 1 of 415/4 must be equated with July 5. For convenience I reproduce here that part of the table of correspondences between the senatorial, civil, and Julian calendars which concerns the years 415/4–412/1. The full table will be found in Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 118–120.

415/4	Ordinary Year	July 5 = Pryt. I, 1 = Tha. 29	
			(416/5)
414/3	Intercalary Year	July 5 = Pryt. I, 1 = Skir. 11	
			(415/4)
413/2	Ordinary Year	July 5 = Pryt. I, 1 = Tha. 22	
			(414/3)
412/1	Ordinary Year	July 5 = Pryt. I, 1 = Skir. 3	
			(413/2)

The latest possible date by prytany which can be restored in line 56 of our inscription is the twentieth, *i.e.*: ['Επὶ τέσ . . . τιδος δεκάτες πρυτανεύοεσ είκοστει *heμέρ*]αι. This prytany date must be equated with June 18 according to Julian reckoning, on the assumption that the tenth prytany of 416/5 contained 36 rather than 37 days. The date thus given allows a time for the departure of the fleet quite in conformity with the evidence of Thucydides. On the other hand, any restoration of the date for the last payment

¹ Cf. West, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII (1920), p. 40.

as of the ninth prytany would carry the time of departure of the fleet back into the month of May. The latest date in the ninth prytany which gives a restoration epigraphically possible is the twentieth, *i.e.* : [Ἐπὶ τέστορες ἰδος ἵνατες πρωτανεύσεις εἰκοστήις ημέραι]. At the latest this prytany date must be equated with May 13, and so falls too early to be reconciled with the Thucydidean date for the departure of the fleet in midsummer.¹

But it is possible to determine the time of the departure of the fleet not only with reference to the senatorial calendar, as indicated above, but also with reference to the civil calendar. We can show that the departure for Sicily came shortly after the mutilation of the herms, and further that this act of sacrilege itself must be dated on the last day of Munichion in 416/5. By proving thus that some part of the tenth prytany must have fallen in the early part of Thargelion (Pryt. X, 20 coming before the middle of the month), we prove also that Hekatombaion 1 of the ensuing civil year must have fallen approximately one month after the beginning of the following senatorial year. Since the Attic month began at the time of new moon, the civil year 415/4 cannot have begun earlier than approximately at the time of the new moon of August 6.

For our knowledge of the civil calendar at Athens, the direct consequence of this observation is that only one intercalary year may be assumed in the interval from 415/4 to 412/1, as I have argued from other evidence in my previous study of the calendar and shown in the accompanying tables.² The equation between the civil and senatorial years for the summer of 415 taken from these tables and given above on page 133 may then be considered correct, within a day or two:

$$\text{Pryt. I, 1 (415/4)} = \text{Tha. 29 (416/5)}$$

In order to establish the proof of these correspondences in the manner outlined above, it will be necessary to call attention to the fact that the departure of the fleet followed almost immediately after the mutilation of the herms. An examination of the ancient source material which bears on this problem shows that our literary tradition indicates, without exception, the close proximity in point of time between these two events. The interpretation of this evidence has given rise to considerable speculation, though I believe that most of the difficulty in reaching a satisfactory solution has

¹ The Julian dates given here and in the subsequent pages may be considered correct within a few days. Cf. Fotheringham's review of Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, *Cl. Rev.*, 1929, p. 21.

² Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 93-94, table p. 118.

been caused by incorrect hypotheses concerning the correspondences between the civil and senatorial calendars.

We know, for example, that the charge of sacrilege which was brought against Alcibiades intervened between the mutilation of the herms and the departure of the fleet for Sicily (Thuc. VI, 28). Keil has elaborated a theory which assumes the lapse of several weeks after the night of the mutilation before any charges were made, either in relation to the herms or in relation to other sacrileges which had been committed.¹ According to Keil, the senate of the year 415/4 was to enter office on the 19th day of Skirophorion,² and yet Keil had been able to show—as he believed, and, as I think, correctly—that the new senate had actually entered office sometime before the second day of Skirophorion.³ Since the actual date for the first day of the first prytany in the senatorial year did not conform to the scheme of calendar correspondences which Keil had drawn up for the fifth century, he postulated a “time of confusion” in 415 and 414, and then sought to find the occasion for this confusion in the excitement and suspicion which prevailed in Athens after the mutilation of the herms.

The senate undertook the investigation of the outrage, and appointed a special investigating committee. Rewards of 10,000 Dr. and of 1,000 Dr. were offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators of the deed. These measures followed at once, immediately after the outrage had been committed. And then Keil says (p. 353): “— — und doch Tage verstrichen, ohne dass eine Anzeige erfolgte, ohne dass die Bule und ihre Commission eine Spur fanden; und jeder Tag, der den auf allen lastenden Druck nicht löste, senkte sich als neue Last zu der, die die früheren schon brachten.” In short, suspicions arose even against the senate, with the idea of possible incompetency and corruption. Those suspicions became so strong that it was finally decided to disband the existing senate before its normal course had been run, and to call into office the new and recently chosen senate to undertake the investigation. In this way the early date of Pryt. I, 1 in 415/4 might possibly be explained.

West had shown, even previous to the publication of my earlier study of the Athenian calendar, many objections to Keil's chronological scheme,⁴ though he was led into error by rejecting not only the detailed elaboration of the scheme but also the fundamental conception of divergence between the senatorial and civil years

¹ Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), pp. 352–356.

² Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894) Table IV, facing p. 358.

³ Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), pp. 50–51.

⁴ West, *A.J.A.*, XXIX (1925), pp. 3–16.

which formed the basis on which Keil elaborated his tables of correspondences between the two calendars. As a result of his studies at that time West felt obliged to "reject Keil's hypothesis of a change of Boule about Skirophorion 1" (*op. cit.*, p. 14), although he agreed with Keil that about a month had elapsed between the mutilation of the herms and the departure of the fleet.

This assumption that there was any considerable lapse of time between the mutilation and the departure of the fleet runs counter to the unanimous testimony of our literary tradition. The mutilation of the herms, the charge of sacrilege against Alcibiades, and the departure of the fleet were events which must have followed in quick succession. We learn from Diodorus (XIII, 2) that the fleet was ready for departure when the mutilation occurred: *ὅτι δὲ τοῦ στόλου παρεσκεασμένου, τοὺς ἔρμας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παμπληθεῖς ὄντας συνέβη ἐν μῷ νυκτὶ περικοπῆναι.* Plutarch (*Alcibiades*, XVIII) tells the same story: *ἐπιψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δῆμου καὶ γενομένων ἔτοιμων πάντων πρὸς τὸν ἔκπλουν, οὐ χρηστὰ παρην οὐδὲ τὰ τῆς ἡρτῆς — — — ἡ μέντοι τῶν ἔρμῶν περικοπῆ, μῷ νυκτὶ τῶν πλείστων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων τὰ πρώτα, πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν περιφρονούντων τὰ τοιαῦτα διετάραξεν.*

We know also from Thucydides that the departure of the fleet followed soon after the accusation of Alcibiades (VI, 29). Alcibiades offered to stand trial at once on the charge which had been made against him, but with malicious intent his political enemies hastened his departure, arguing that there was no time for a trial and that the expedition should not be delayed. So far as I am aware, no one has seriously questioned the close proximity in point of time between the accusation of Alcibiades and his actual departure from Athens. The evidence quoted above from Diodorus and Plutarch shows the close proximity between the mutilation of the herms and the departure of the fleet. It follows, therefore, that the accusation of Alcibiades must be dated soon after the mutilation of the herms. The Athenian state had been thrown into consternation by the lawlessness and lack of religious feeling shown by this outrage (Plut., *Alcibiades*, XVIII). A special commission of investigation was appointed and rewards had been offered to those who could throw any light on this or any other sacrilegious act (Andocides, I, 27). The senate and the assembly met frequently within the space of the next few days to try to learn the truth of the matter. The words of Plutarch (*Alcibiades*, XVIII) are significant in this connection: *ἄτασαν ἔξηταξον ὑπόνοιαν πικρῶς ἡ τε βουλὴ συνιοῦσα περὶ τούτων καὶ δῆμος ἐν δλίγαις ἡμέραις πολλάκις.* Not many days of this feverish investigation elapsed, however, before the charge against Alcibiades was made. Plutarch (*Alcibiades*, XIX) goes on

to say: ἐν δὲ τούτῳ δούλους τινὰς καὶ μετοίκους προήγαγεν Ἀνδροκλῆς δὲ δημαγωγὸς ἄλλων τε ἀγαλμάτων περικοπάς καὶ μωστηρίων παρ' οἷον ἀπομιμήσεις τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν φίλων κατηγοροῦντας.

In spite of the fact that Plutarch mentions Androkles as playing the leading part in bringing the charge against Alcibiades, there can be no question that the occasion to which he refers is the same as that described by Andocides (I, 11) in which we find the names of Pythonicus and Andromachus.¹ These men may have been prompted by Androkles and instructed by him as to how they were to play their parts, but it is clear that Androkles himself did not lay any formal charges before the assembly or the senate. Andocides sums up the list of those who laid claim to the rewards offered (I, 27), and the name of Androkles is included in the group, not as one who had brought information himself, but as a representative of the senate.²

The importance of this last passage from Plutarch is that it gives additional proof of the close proximity in point of time between the actual mutilation of the herms and the charge against Alcibiades.

So far we have made no attempt to determine the date of the mutilation of the herms according to the Athenian civil calendar. Our literary tradition gives the last day of a civil month (*ἔνης καὶ νέας οὖσης*, Plut., *Alcibiades*, XX) or the first day of a civil month (*τῇ νοιμηνίᾳ*, Diodorus, XIII, 2). But if the story told by Diokleides and reported by Andocides (I, 37 ff.) were to be believed, to the effect that Diokleides had seen the bands of men gathered together in the theatre of Dionysus on the very night of the mutilation, we should be constrained to fix the date as near the middle of a civil month, for Diokleides claimed that he had seen the conspirators by the light of the full moon (And., I, 38). The story of Diokleides, however, was from beginning to end an elaborately contrived falsehood (And., I, 65), and the very fact that there could have been no moon at the time of night when he claimed to have seen the conspirators led eventually to his undoing. With more circumstantial detail than Andocides, Plutarch gives us the account of the cross-examination of Diokleides (Plut., *Alcibiades*, XX): *Εἰς δ' αὐτῶν ἐρωτάμενος, δῶς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Ἐρμοκοπιδῶν γνωρίσειε, καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος, δοτε πρὸς τὴν σελήνην, ἐσφάλη τοῦ παντός, ἔνης καὶ νέας οὖσης, δοτε ταῦτ' ἔδρατο.*

Keil has argued that the dates *ἔνη καὶ νέα* as given by Plutarch, and *νοιμηνία* as given by Diodorus, have crept into the literary

¹ The charge made by Thessalus must be placed at a much later date, and is not to be confused with the original indictment of Alcibiades. Cf. Plutarch, *Alcibiades* XIX and XXII; also Gilbert, *Beiträge zur Innern Geschichte Athens*, pp. 275-276.

² Cf. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-269; Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.*, III, 2, p. 1294, note 1.

tradition merely because these are two days of the month which by their very names imply a time during the dark of the moon, and because Diokleides came to grief when it was shown that the moon could not have been shining when he claimed that he had seen the bands of conspirators.¹ Keil claims that if the mutilation had occurred on either of these two days the charge of Diokleides would never have been believed at all, for the investigating committee and the senate were perfectly well aware of when the herms were mutilated, and the very name of either one of these days would have given the lie to Diokleides at the start. Keil argues further that the dates as given by Plutarch and Diodorus do not rest upon an accurate tradition because they are in themselves inconsistent. One may, however, take exception to this interpretation. The name *ēvē kai vēa* belongs technically to the last day of an Attic civil month, but in its fundamental meaning it refers also to the day of astronomical new moon. If Diodorus gave the date *vovunpia* not in the sense in which that word was used technically at Athens to designate the first day of a civil month, but in the strictly correct and more general sense of astronomical new moon, his account is in entire accord with that of Plutarch. I am not persuaded, even so, that Diodorus' date can be held to one specific day. It may refer merely to the "time of the new moon" with a possibility of slight variation from the actual day of the synod. In either case the consequence is that we need assume no inconsistency between the dates as given by Diodorus and Plutarch. Both authors represent a tradition which placed the mutilation of the herms on the last day of an Attic civil month.

Keil has questioned the veracity of this tradition, but his hypothesis, though tempting, becomes less convincing upon further study. Once granted that the board of investigators knew perfectly well the date of the mutilation, we must concede that they would have been quick to detect the discrepancy between this date and the claim made by Diokleides that he had seen the men by the light of the full moon. That the outrage did not take place in the middle of the month we learn from the subsequent confusion of Diokleides on this very issue, and yet the day of "full moon" carries just as definite a calendar connotation as does the date of "new moon." Keil's theory frees us of one embarrassment, at the expense of Diodorus and Plutarch, only to leave us involved in another difficulty just as serious.

If the account which Andocides gives of the story of Diokleides is to be taken as it stands, we can only suppose that the Athenian

¹ Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), p. 352 and note.

Boule and its investigating committee had lost their critical faculties in the excitement of the charge which he was making, and did not recover them until the time of cross-examination several days later. Another explanation, which does not seem to me improbable, is that Andocides, who delivered his speech sixteen years after the profanation of the mysteries, included in his account of Diokleides' story material taken both from the original charge and from the cross-examination. Plutarch's statement is that Diokleides was convicted because he said that he had seen the conspirators by the light of the moon. This claim was made during the cross-examination, and I suggest that Andocides took this part of his narrative from the cross-examination, rather than from the original charge. He has given us, in other words, a composite account of the testimony of Diokleides, told as though the whole story had been presented to the Boule at the time of the original charge. We have seen the difficulties which this involves.

In any case, there is no sufficient reason for doubting the evidence of Diodorus and Plutarch that the mutilation itself took place on the last day of a civil month.

Since we now know that the accusation of Alcibiades and the departure of the fleet followed soon afterward, it is possible to make at this point a further determination in the restoration of our inscription in Plates I and II, giving the dates of payments to the generals in charge of the expedition. We have already observed that the last payment to the generals must have fallen in the tenth prytany (pp. 133-134). Since the tenth prytany of 416/5 corresponds to the interval comprised between the Julian dates May 29 and July 4, and since the last payment to the generals may not have fallen later than the 20th day of the prytany (p. 133), the mutilation of the herms must be dated near the commencement of the lunar cycle beginning with the new moon of June 8. This time relation is true, irrespective of the name of the Athenian month which began on the civil *vrouμηνία* on or near June 8. It will be noticed also that the only possible numeral of date which can be restored in line 56 is *εἰκοστή*. There is no later date which is epigraphically possible. Since the numerals of date to be restored in lines 52, 54, and 56 must all contain the same number of letters, the next earlier date which is epigraphically possible is *εὐάρτη*. But the ninth day of the prytany would bring the final payment to the generals so close to the beginning of the civil month as to render impossible any interpretation of the known sequence of events between the mutilation of the herms and the departure of the fleet. I consider the restoration of the numeral *εἰκοστή* in line 56 certain, and read:

[Ἐπὶ τές . . . ντίδος δεκάτες πρυτανεύσες εἰκοστές *ἡμέρα*]ι. The name of the prytanizing tribe was either Aiantis or Leontis.

Possible restorations of date in lines 52 and 54 are *δευτέραι*, *τετάρτει* and *heβδόμει*. The date of the first payment to the generals must have fallen in the preceding prytany (ninth), for there is no numeral between one and seven with sufficient letters to fill out the *lacuna* in line 49, even if we should restore the longest possible tribal name (*λιπποβούτιδος*). The following readings may now be given for these lines:

[Ἐπὶ τές . . . ντίδος ἑνάτες πρυτανεύσες — — — καὶ — — — ει *ἡμέραι*]
 τές πρυτανείας στρατεύο[ις Ἀλ]
 50 [κιβιάδει Κλεινίο Σκαμβονίδει Λαμάχοι Χσενοφάρος *ἱούθεν* Νικίας
 Νικεράτο Κυδαντίδει καὶ παρέδροις]
 [.
] 29 'Αντιμάχοι *ἡμείοι* . . .
] H-H-I vacat.

[Ἐπὶ τές . . . ντίδος δεκάτες πρυτανεύσες { δευτέραι
 τετάρτει } *ἡμέραι στρατεύοις* εἰς Σικελίαν 'Αλκιβιάδει Λαμάχοι
 [Νικίαι καὶ παρέδροις]
 29 'Αντιμάχοι
ἡμείοι Δ[Δ]Δ vacat

[Ἐπὶ τές . . . ντίδος δεκάτες πρυτανεύσες { τετάρτει
 heβδόμει } *ἡμέραι στρατεύοις* εἰς Σικελίαν 'Αλκιβιάδει Λαμάχοι
 55 [Νικίαι καὶ παρέδροις]
 29 'Αντιμάχοι
ἡμείοι ΔΤΤΤΤΧ . . . H vacat

[Ἐπὶ τές . . . ντίδος δεκάτες πρυτανεύσες εἰκοστές *ἡμέρα*]ι στρατεγοῖς
 εἰς Σικελίαν 'Αλκιβιάδει Λαμάχοι]

[Νικίαι καὶ παρέδροις]
 29 'Αντιμάχοι
ἡμείοι χ[ρ]υσίο Κυ[λ]ικενό στατέρ
 [ας]
 45] H-H-H-I C
 vacat

It is important to have determined the exact date of this last payment to the generals in charge of the expedition, for the money was in all probability voted by the assembly on the very day that Alcibiades was accused of sacrilege. Andocides (I, 11) gives us a picture of this last-minute attempt to discredit Alcibiades: "Ην μὲν γάρ ἐκκλησία τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τοῖς εἰς Σικελίαν, Νικία καὶ Λαμάχος καὶ 'Αλκιβιάδη, καὶ τρήρης ἡ στρατηγίς ήδη ἔξωρμει ἡ Λαμάχου ἀναστάς δὲ Πιθόνικος ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ εἶπεν. "— — — 'Αλκιβιάδην δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξω ὑμῖν τὰ μισθήρια πουοῦντα ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεθ' ἐτέρων — — —."

On the very eve of departure, when the last payment of money had been voted for the generals and everything had been done to make the expedition ready for setting sail on the morrow, the charge

of Pythonicus and Andromachus caused all plans to miscarry. The question had to be decided as to whether Alcibiades was to stand an immediate trial or sail forth under indictment to be recalled later at the pleasure of the people. That this was the last meeting of the assembly that had been originally planned for the generals is clear, I believe, from the language of Andocides and from the fact that the flagship of Lamachus was already riding at anchor outside the harbor. The twentieth day of the tenth prytany may be equated with June 18 in the Julian calendar, and on this day the generals received their final grant of money from the people, and Alcibiades was accused of impiety.

The charge of Pythonicus and the evidence of Andromachus caused a delay of several days in the departure of the fleet, but the delay cannot have been more than a few days at the most (cf. p. 136). The brilliant scene of departure has been pictured for us by Thucydides (VI, 30-32). We shall not be far wrong, certainly, if we reckon that this day was the 23rd day of the tenth prytany. I have equated this date with June 21 in the Julian calendar, and it may be noticed that this date corresponds with what evidence we have from Thucydides for the time of the departure toward the middle of summer.

The time of the accusation of Alcibiades and of the departure of the fleet for Sicily has now been fixed according to the senatorial calendar of Athens and corresponding Julian dates. It has also been pointed out that the mutilation of the herms must be dated on the last day of the civil month which ended just before the new moon of June 8. This day may be given as June 6 in the Julian calendar. But before these correspondences can be used to fix the relation between the senatorial and civil calendars in the summer of 415 it is necessary to determine the Attic month during which the mutilation occurred.

It seems to me that Keil has shown beyond any reasonable doubt that the mutilation could not have taken place later than the first part of the month of Thargelion.¹ Our determination, therefore, fixes the date on the evidence of Plutarch as on the last day of Munichion. We know that the charges brought by Diokleides were made in the month following his return to Athens after the sacrilege and his private negotiations with interested parties (And. I, 40-42). If the mutilation occurred on the last day of Munichion, then the charge of Diokleides must be dated in the month of Skirophorion. If the mutilation occurred on the last day of Thargelion or in early Skirophorion, then the charge of Diokleides must be

¹ Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), p. 352, note 1.

dated in Hekatombaion. But we also know that the rewards of 10,000 Dr. and 1,000 Dr. which had been offered for information leading to the arrest of the malefactors were adjudicated at some time during the month of Hekatombaion and paid over to the informers Andromachus and Teucer at the time of the Panathenaic festival (And. I, 28). Keil calls our attention to the fact that the events which must have taken place between the charge of Diokleides and the adjudication of the rewards cannot be compressed into the short space of approximately three weeks during the first part of Hekatombaion, as we should have to assume if the actual mutilation of the herms had taken place on the last day of Thargelion or in early Skirophorion.

After the charge made by Diokleides approximately forty men were arrested and thrown into prison (And. I, 43 and 47), among them the orator Andocides. When the charges laid by Diokleides had been shown to be false, and after Andocides had supplemented the list of those involved in the mutilation of the herms as given by Teucer, there came a measure of quiet, at least so far as this particular investigation was concerned (Thuc. VI, 60, 5; VI, 61, 1). But the investigation into the profanation of the mysteries still continued (Thuc. VI, 61), and we find charges brought by Agariste (And. I, 16), Lydus (And. I, 17-18), and finally Thessalus (Plut., *Alcibiades*, XIX and XXII). Athens recovered its normal composure when the decision had been finally reached that Alcibiades should be summoned to stand trial on the charges that had been brought against him.

Any adjudication of the proffered rewards was out of the question while the investigation was still in progress. We can only assume, therefore, that the inquisition relative to the mutilation of the herms and the profanation of the mysteries which followed the accusations of Diokleides occupied the greater part of the month of Skirophorion and part of Hekatombaion as well. The necessary consequence is that the mutilation of the herms took place on the last day of Munichion, and that the month Thargelion began at the civil *μονηγνία* just before the lunar synod of June 8. In this way we are able to determine the relation between the senatorial and civil calendars during the summer of 415. The correspondence is implicit in the equation

$$\text{Pryt. I, 1 (415/4)} = \text{Tha. 29 (416/5)}^1$$

Since Skirophorion of this year contained thirty days, Pryt. II, 20 must have fallen on Hek. 26, before the epochal date of the

¹ Cf. p. 134 above.

festivals. This study of the time relation between various events in Athens in the summer of 415 confirms the proposition that payments for the Panathenaea (recorded in our inscription, Plates I and II, line 68 as made on Pryt. II, 20) were made before the day of the festival rather than later,¹ and establishes as correct the sequence of ordinary and intercalary years in the Athenian civil calendar from 415/4 to 412/1 given on page 133 above. The year 415/4 cannot be construed as an intercalary year without at once bringing the date of the payment for the Panathenaea in 415 one complete month after the festival and compressing within the first three weeks of Hekatombaion a series of events which must have occupied the greater part of two Attic months.

The close proximity in point of time which our study above has shown to exist between the mutilation of the herms, the accusation of Alcibiades, and the departure of the fleet, may therefore be illustrated by the following table:

Mutilation of the herms	Pryt. X, 8 = Mun. 30 = June 6
Accusation of Alcibiades	Pryt. X, 20 = Tha. 12 = June 18
Departure of the fleet	Pryt. X, 23 = Tha. 15 = June 21

We have seen that Keil was right in giving an early date for the entry of the new senate relative to the civil year, for Pryt. I, 1 of 415/4 must be equated with Tha. 29 of 416/5. But there is no need for us to search for any unusual explanation for this early date, which seemed to Keil a real anomaly in his calendar scheme. There was, in fact, no disturbance whatsoever in the regular succession of prytanies and senatorial years. The early date in the civil calendar was caused by the irregular intercalation of an extra month in one of the years from 419/8 to 416/5,² but this anomaly in the civil calendar has nothing to do with the senatorial year, which continued on its even way without regard to variations in the civil year.³ Keil's mistake was merely in considering this early date an anomalous one from the point of view of the senatorial calendar. The elaborate hypothesis about the premature dissolution of the old senate of 416/5 which Keil proposed to explain the anomaly must also be rejected, along with implications of incompetency and bad faith with which the hypothesis was embellished.

To what far-reaching conclusions this initial error has gone is

¹ Cf. Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 93. This view has been challenged by Kolbe, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1929, p. 1063 and West, *C. L. Weekly*, 1929, p. 62.

² Geerlings, *C. L. Phil.*, 1929, pp. 239 ff., has argued that the intercalation took place in 417/6 or 416/5.

³ Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, pp. 92-93 and 123.

illustrated by the attempt of Cavaignac¹ to show that the date of *I.G.*, I², 328 should be given as 415/4 instead of 414/3. Now, we know from our inscription (Plates I and II, line 67) that Erechtheis held the second prytany in 4 5/4, and since Erechtheis is recorded as having held the seventh prytany in *I.G.*, I², 328, it is evident that the date of this inscription cannot be 415/4. Cavaignac, however, has urged that since the last prytany of 416/5 may have suffered from the early dissolution of the senate in that year, there is still the possibility that some recompense may have been made in the following year by allowing one of the tribes to hold the prytany twice. He supposes that Erechtheis is that tribe, and that it held the last prytany (abbreviated) in 416/5 and both the second and seventh prytanies in 415/4.

Not only does this hypothesis, which has no reasonable presumption in its favor in any case, fall to the ground when we realize that the normal succession of prytanies was not disturbed in the summer of 415, but we have also reached what I believe to be a certain demonstration (p. 140) that the last tribe to hold office, in the tenth prytany of 416/5, was either Aiantis or Leontis.

Certainly *I.G.*, I², 328 cannot be dated in 415/4, and Keil's original determination of the date as 414/3 still holds valid.² A further confirmation of this date has been given by Bannier's studies of *I.G.*, I², 297. The expenses recorded in this latter inscription are from moneys borrowed by the Athenian state from the treasurers of Athena in 414/3, and in this document we find mention made of Erechtheis as holding the seventh prytany.³ Erechtheis is also represented as holding the seventh prytany in *I.G.*, I², 328. This chronological correspondence is not merely a coincidence, but arises from the fact that both inscriptions belong to the same year.

We have noted here in passing some of the historical errors which have been caused by Keil's suggestion that the senate of the year 416/5 was dissolved before its normal course was run. This theory, which Keil himself claimed merely as a theory, and the consequences which it involves must be once and for all laid at rest. So far as our evidence at present can show, the mutilation of the herms caused no chronological anomalies in the regular working of the political machinery of the Athenian state, and there was no irregularity in the term of office of the senate either in 416/5 or in 415/4.

In support of his thesis that the senate of the year 415/4 had

¹ Cavaignac, *Note sur la Chronologie Attique au V^e Siècle*, Versailles, 1908, pp. 15-18.

² Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), p. 45.

³ Bannier, *Ph. Woch.*, 1915, p. 1613.

entered upon its term of office earlier than the appointed time, Keil has argued also that the investigating board which was appointed by the senate, and which he believed to be practically a sub-committee of the senate, was already functioning at the time when the first indictment against Alcibiades was made. The tenure of office of this board of $\xi\eta\tau\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ is then considered as an indication for the early date of Pryt. I, 1 in 415/4. Keil claims that from the narrative of Andocides we may infer that the membership of this board did not change during the course of its investigations, as would have been the case if the board had been responsible first to the senate of 416/5 and then later to the senate of 415/4. Consequently, the senate of 415/4, as well as the investigating committee, was in office at the time of the first indictment.¹ So far as Keil's chronological scheme is concerned, this would have been possible if we could allow a period of one complete month to elapse between the date of the mutilation of the herms and the first charge brought against Alcibiades (after the entry of the new senate at the beginning of Skirophorion). If this lapse of time is to be admitted then we have the greater part of a month during which, according to Keil's hypothesis, no charge was brought by any informer, and not even a committee had been appointed to carry on the investigation. This assumption of a long period of inactivity on the part of the old senate, as we have already shown, is refuted by our literary tradition. Keil also falls into inconsistency when he states in one part of his argument (*op. cit.*, p. 353) that the rewards were offered and an investigating committee appointed immediately after the mutilation, and then tries to prove later that the investigating committee could only have been appointed by the new senate after a considerable lapse of time (*op. cit.*, p. 354, note 1).

But it is not necessary to show that the board of $\xi\eta\tau\eta\tau\alpha\iota$ was responsible only to the new senate in order to prove the early date for the entry into office of the new senate itself, a fact which is sufficiently well established by other evidence already presented above. Nor can we now agree with Keil's hypothesis that the senate of the year 415/4 had already entered office at the time of the first charge brought by Pythonicus and Andromachus, for we know that the date of this charge was Pryt. X, 20 of 416/5, when the last payment was made to the generals who were about to sail for Sicily.² The restoration of any later date in our inscription is epigraphically impossible, and if we are to assume that the charge brought against Alcibiades was not made until the new senate

¹ Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), p. 354, note 1.

² Cf. pp. 140-141 above.

entered office (Tha. 29), then we must assume that the fleet, completely ready for departure, continued to lie off Piraeus from Pryt. X, 20, to Pryt. X, 36 (last day)—or perhaps even longer—so that the charge of Pythonicus and Andromachus might be dated in the first prytany of the ensuing year! The absurdity of this assumption is obvious. The charge against Alcibiades was made on the day when the last payment of money was voted to the generals, and at this time the rewards to the informers must already have been voted, and the investigating committee established.

Thucydides does not at any point in his narrative make specific mention of the *ζητηται*, and yet the phraseology of his account gives a sufficiently clear indication that the board was established before any charges were made. After the brief report of the mutilation of the herms (VI, 27) we read: *καὶ τοὺς δράσαντας ἥδει οἱδεῖς, ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις μηνύτροις δημοσίᾳ οὐτοὶ τε ἔχητοῦντο καὶ προσέτι ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ εἴ τις ἀλλοὶ τοι οἶδεν ἀσέβημα γεγενημένον, μηνύειν ἀδέως τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ δούλων.* Then follows the account of the charge against Alcibiades (VI, 28). The use of the word *ἔχητοῦντο* is significant, and points to the existence of the board of *ζητηται*.¹ I believe also that Gilbert is right in naming Diogenetus (And. I, 14) as one of the formal board of *ζητηται* at the time of the charge of Andromachus.² The early establishment of the investigating board is also amply testified by the statement of Diokleides (And. I, 40) that on his return from Laureion he found them already in office.

These determinations, however, have the necessary consequence that the board of *ζητηται* can no longer be associated merely with the senate of 415/4, for the board had been appointed and was in office during the latter half of the last prytany of the preceding senatorial year. This does not imply, of course, that the membership of the board remained the same even after the new senate entered office.

The names of two men, Peisander and Charikles, are known to us without question as *ζητηται* (And. I, 36), and the fact that both were members of the Boule has been well established by Keil.³ Peisander played a conspicuous part in the turbulent scene in the Boule when Diokleides brought in his charge and told his story about seeing the conspirators in the theatre of Dionysus (And. I,

¹ For a similar use of the verb to describe an official board, we may note that Thucydides (VIII, 1, 3) does not mention as such the *πρόβοντοι* elected after the Sicilian disaster, but states merely: *ἴδοκεν ἀρχήν τινα προεβνήκων ἀνδρῶν ἐλεύθεροι, οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἀν καρός οὐ προβούλευσονται.*

² Gilbert, *Beiträge zur innern Geschichte Athens*, p. 251; cf. Grote, *History of Greece*, VII, p. 197, note 2.

³ Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), p. 354, note 1.

43). Since the charge of Diokleides was made in Skirophorion, and since this month falls entirely within the first prytany of the senatorial year 415/4 (cf. table, p. 133), we may conclude with certainty that Peisander and Charikles were members of the new Boule. We have no evidence that they were members of the investigating board before the new senate entered office, nor can we connect their names with any of the indictments made before that of Diokleides. Keil is in error when he cites the account of Andocides (I, 36) to show that Peisander and Charikles were members of the investigating board at the time when Teucer made his indictments before that board. The charges brought by Teucer fell relatively early in the whole sequence of events,¹ as is apparent from the fact that he received the second award in the adjudication of the prizes offered for testimony leading to conviction (And. I, 28). One must, however, assume that the indictments brought by him were made after the departure of the fleet.² The names of Peisander and Charikles are first mentioned as *ἱητταῖ* after the account of Teucer's indictments has been given, and when Andocides is turning to his discussion of the affair of Diokleides.³

The description which Andocides gives of the state of confusion in Athens just prior to the charges brought by Diokleides seems to me worthy of especial attention. We know from our chronological studies that the new senate of the year 415/4 had entered office a short time before. For the first time Peisander and Charikles are mentioned as members of the investigating board. They were both reputed to be staunch democrats, and we find that now a distinct change of policy has been effected in the conduct of the investigation. To my mind this change of policy can only be satisfactorily explained by the assumption that the board of *ἱητταῖ* was changed with the entry into office of the new Boule. Peisander and Charikles, as members of this new senate, were chosen also as members of the investigating board. They had not held this position before, though Peisander had shown some activity in seeking out the malefactors while he was still in his capacity of private citizen. It was on his motion that the reward of 10,000 Dr. had been offered (And. I, 27). Doubtless his well-known interest in the investigation was responsible for his appointment to the new investigating board.

There had been uneasiness enough in Athens before this new board of investigation began its work, when the charges of Andro-

¹ Keil, *Hermes*, XXIX (1894), p. 353, note 1.

² Fellner, *Zur Chronologie und Pragmatik des Hermokopidenprozesses*, *Wiener Studien*, I (1879), pp. 177-178.

³ And. I, 36: 'Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα ἤγινερο -- etc.

machus and Teucer were made, but the previous policy seemed weak and dilatory to political alarmists like Peisander and Charikles. They aroused the people by proclaiming that the sacrilegious acts committed were not the work of a few men, but were aimed at the overthrow of the democracy (Δέογον ὡς εἴη τὰ ἔργα τὰ γεγενημένα οἷς δλίγων ἀνδρῶν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δῆμου καταλησεῖ)¹ and they urged the state not to become indolent but to press the investigation (καὶ χρῆναι ἐπι-
ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ παύσασθαι). In short, Andocides has given us a vivid picture of such feverish energy as might well have characterized the activities of a new board controlled by Peisander and Charikles, eager to obtain some record of achievement in the work for which they had been chosen. The state was thrown into a reign of terror by this inquisition, and suspicion and fear grew to such a pitch that whenever the senate was assembled in the bouleuterion the people fled from the marketplace, each man fearing lest he might be the next victim of some informer. The account of Andocides is supplemented by that of Thucydides (VI, 53, 2; VI, 60). Men were thrown into prison on mere suspicion, and day by day the panic increased (καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπεδίδοσαν μᾶλλον ἐς τὸ ἀγριώτερὸν τε καὶ πλείους ἔτι ξυλλαμβάνειν). The climax came with the false accusations of Diokleides. I look upon the initiation of this period of terrorism as coinciding with the entry into office of the senate of 415/4, when Peisander and Charikles were appointed members of the investigating board.

We have already called attention (pp. 142-143) to the fact that the events which intervened between the charges of Diokleides and the Panathenaic festival cannot be compressed into the first part of the month Hekatombaion. This is true even though we may assume that the charge of Diokleides fell upon the first day of the month, and the necessary chronological consequence of this determination is that Pryt. I, 1 must be equated with Tha. 29 in the summer of 415. It will be observed that any attempt to construe 415/4 as an intercalary year, instead of as an ordinary year as given in the table on p. 133, would necessitate the equation Pryt. I, 1 (415/4) = Skir. 30 (416/5). In either case the new Boule entered office approximately on the first day of the civil month in which Diokleides made his charge. We now realize that the charge of Diokleides itself cannot have fallen on the first day of the month, for the reign of terror in Athens as described by Thucydides and Andocides intervened between the first day of the month and the actual date of his charge. If 415/4 is to be construed as an intercalary year, then the time available for the events between the

¹ Cf. also Thuc., VI, 60, 1.

charge of Diokleides and the adjudication of the rewards before the Panathenaea (already too short) must be still further curtailed.

Our only recourse is to agree that the mutilation of the herms took place on the last day of Munichion, and that Diokleides made his accusations in Skirophorion rather than in Hekatombaion. The departure of the fleet for Sicily took place on or near the 23rd day of the tenth prytany, and this prytany coincided, in so far as coincidence was possible, with the Attic month Thargelion.

APPENDIX

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON *I.G.*, I², 302 (PLATES I AND II)

Line 6: The letters preserved on the stone cannot be made to accord with the proposed restoration [— á]το[καλέσαι μὲν τοῦτον — — — etc.] after the formula of decree.¹ The letter which has been read here as a broken *pi* exists on the stone as a single vertical stroke, so close to the following *omicron* that it can have been only *iota*, *tau*, or *upsilon* (cf. Fig. 1 and Plate I). I have followed, nevertheless, the interpretation of these lines given by West and McCarthy in preference to that which I had proposed in my earlier study of the calendar.² I suggest only that after the words ἔδοχσεν τὴν βολὴν καὶ τὴν δέκατην there be restored the name of the orator who proposed the decree that the moneys voted to Demosthenes (now recalled) be given to his successor Euthydemus. The name may have been, *exempli gratia*, Διοκλεῖδης, which conforms to the letters still preserved on the stone.

One may note that the date of payment, Pryt. I, 32, falls on Hek. 28, but since Hekatombaion in this year was hollow,³ the epochal date of the Panathenaeic festival was not Hek. 28, but Hek. 27 (*τρίτη φθίνοντος Ἐκατομβαιῶν*). The payment was made, therefore, by the new board of treasurers to the new board of hellenotamiae on the day after the change of office. There is evidence in *I.G.*, I², 305 that payments were made by the old board in some years as late as the festival date itself, if a restoration suggested by West (*I.G.*, I², 305, line 10: *τρι[τη φθίνοντος Ἐκατομβαιῶν]*) is correct, as I believe it is.⁴

Line 12: The date of the payment must be sought somewhere in the 20's or 30's of the second prytany. The payment itself was partly in silver and partly in Cyzicene staters. Lines 12 and 13 may be restored on the analogy of line 64. To fill the long *lacuna* at the beginning of line 13 I suggest that we read, after the numeral,

¹ West and McCarthy, *A.J.A.*, XXXII (1928), Plate IV, facing p. 352.

² Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 117.

³ Meritt, *The Athenian Calendar*, p. 120.

⁴ West, *Classical Weekly*, XXIII (1929), p. 63.

kai hikras (e.g.) *τέτταπας*. The fact that the whole payment is described by the words *τοῦτο τὸ χρυσῖον* does not militate against the assumption that it was actually part in silver and part in gold.

Line 16: The name of Alcibiades should be restored as colleague of Autokles.¹

Line 19: For the suggested restoration *παρ[έδροι ελλή]ενο[ταμιῶν -]* cf. p. 129. In this same line there is an example of dittography in the word *στρατεγοῖς*. West and McCarthy had noted that the letters on the stone are *ατρατεγοῖς* and they explained the initial *alpha* as a stonemason's error for *sigma*.² A more satisfactory explanation is that the word appeared on the stone as *στρατρατεγοῖς*, the second group of letters — *ρατ* — being added because the stonemason wrongly believed that he had cut only the initial *στ* — instead of the initial *στρατ* —. This confusion as to which letter *tau* had been last cut was the cause of his mistake.

Line 20: The final *kappa* preserved in this line is the initial letter in the name of a third general, colleague of Nikias and Kallistratus. Cf. p. 130.

Line 25: Rhinon has been identified by Wade-Gery. Cf. *Clas. Quar.*, 1930, p. 35, note 1.

Line 26: The formula of date in this line is similar to that in lines 4 and 5, and the connective *kai* should be restored between *πρύτανεύοντες* and *heπέπαι*. The name of the prytany was either Aigeis or Oineis, and its number either first, third, sixth, or eighth. There is strong probability that either the restoration *πρότες* or *τρίτες* is correct.

Line 29: The date was either the 14th, 17th, or 25th of the prytany.

Lines 40–44: A new fragment (EM 6742b; cf. Fig. 5) may be added to the record of the year 416/5. The character of writing and spacing of the letters is the same as in the other fragments from the years 418/7 to 416/5. Also, the uninscribed surface after the numerals in line 40 shows that the characteristic practice of beginning the record of each new payment at the left margin of the stone was followed here as well as in other parts of the inscription. It may be added that the weathered state of the surface of the stone indicates its connection with this document. A slightly reddish tinge in the patina of the marble, which is also found on other fragments near the central part of the inscription, is particularly significant.

Line 53: The amount of the second payment to the generals in

¹ Bannier, *Ph. Woch.*, 1927, p. 669, suggests that we restore the name of Nikias. This restoration is, however, epigraphically impossible.

² West and McCarthy, *A.J.A.*, XXXII (1928), p. 349.



40	[.....13.....]ΔΔ	vacat
	[ēπ] rēs Kēpō]πōs	[—
	[11].....]ōvet	[—
	[ēπ] rēs Kēpō]πōs	[—
	[13].....]ōs	[—
	[.....].....]e.	[—

lacuna [— — — — —] 60 [— — — — —] 47 [— — — — —] 33 [— — — — —] 23 [— — — — —] 11

60	[Κ ε φ ḥ λ α i ο ν ḥ ν α λ ó μ a] τ o s τ ó ḥ π i τ ē s [ἀ ρ χ ē s] ΔΓΗΙΙΙII vacat
	[Ἄθεναιον ἀνέλοσσαν ἐπὶ Χαρίο ἀρχοτος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βολῆς ἡτὶ] Δῶς πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε ταῦτα <i>ἱερῶν χρειάτον</i> ^ο
	τῆς Ἀθεναίας Λεοχάρεας] ΔΓΗΙΙΙII καὶ χονιάρχοντες <i>hōs</i> Τελέας Τελείο Περγασθέν ἐγραμμάτευε παρέδοσαν στὸ
	[αρλέοντος Τελεφόροι] ΔΓΗΙΙΙII καὶ παρδροῦ φερελέδες Πειραιεῖ <i>φερεσαράνθον</i> τὸ δέκα
	[ο] τριηδεῖαια ἐπὶ τῆς Αιανίδος τρι[τες πυρτανίδοις] ΔΓΗΙΙΙII καὶ χρυσοὶ

ἥληποταιαῖς καὶ παρέκδοσι ἰδεῖνται μεν 15 [Λαϊστοράρει Εἰρυκτῆι καὶ Χωνάρχοι ΠΙΤΤΤΤ οἴτοι δὲ ζῶσσαν αὐθόθεαν οἱ Παναθένεια Αἰμάτοι[. 11 κατ] Χωνάρχοι ἐπὶ τῆς Ερεχθίου δευτέρας πυταρέοσται εἰκοστὴν *heγέρατ* τῆς πυτανεας vacat ἐπὶ τῆς Κεροπόδιος τετάρτης πυτανεούσες *hέκτα* *heγέρατ* τῆς πυτανειας *hελκέποταιαῖς* καὶ παρέδοσις *Αμαστορ*



command of the expedition to Sicily was 30 talents, not 10 talents as previously supposed.

Lines 69-79: The payments listed here are arranged by rubrics, first for Melos, then for Sicily, and finally for two minor campaigns. Although the second payment for the soldiers in Melos was made on the tenth day of the eighth prytany, and so after the payment for the army in Sicily, it is listed first to bring it into juxtaposition with the record of the payment for the soldiers in Melos made in the fourth prytany. Line 70 must be restored to agree with this interpretation.

Lines 75-76: The payment for the ships which conveyed to Sicily the funds voted and given on the third day of the eighth prytany was made on the twentieth day of the same prytany. Now it is beyond reason to suppose that these ships did not start from Athens until seventeen days after the grant of 300 talents mentioned in line 74 was made. There was ample time here for the money to be taken to Sicily and for the ships to return to Athens before the twentieth day of the prytany, and I propose that we should restore in line 76 the word [*έσκομισάσ*] in preference to the accepted [*διακομιόσα*], which implies that the ships had not as yet departed from Athens. To be sure, the journey must have been made without many delays, and one may assume that the convoy (*cf.* Thuc. VI, 94, 4) was anxious to return to Athens in time for the Dionysiac festival. A brief calculation from our table on page 133 will show that Pryt. VIII, 20 fell in this year on or near Elaphebolion 10. The date of payment did actually fall just at the beginning of the festival. On the basis of one talent per ship per month (Thuc. VI, 8 and VI, 31, 3) one may also compute that the sum of money expended on this convoy and paid on the twentieth day of the prytany was almost exactly that which our calculation would require for a fleet of eight ships over the period of seventeen days between Pryt. VIII, 3 and Pryt. VIII, 20. I propose, therefore, that this convoy was paid on its return to Athens, and further that it had consisted of eight ships. We know from Thucydides that it had taken not only the money but also 250 horsemen to Sicily (VI, 94, 4).

Line 79: The final payment recorded in 415/4 was made to the

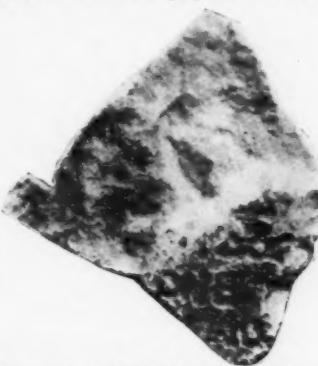


FIGURE 5. NEW FRAGMENT OF *I.G. I², 302. (EM 6742 b).*

general $\epsilon\nu\,\epsilon\varphi$ --. The last letter preserved in this line can have been only *theta*, *omicron*, or *phi*, and the possibilities of restoration limit our choice to *phi*.

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FIVE RED-FIGURED VASES IN THE ART INSTITUTE
OF CHICAGO

THE Art Institute of Chicago has in its possession a collection of some eighty Greek vases, acquired over a series of years and representing varying degrees of excellence. Of the eighty, a number are Italiote, a few are Corinthian, some are black-figured, four are vases with a white-ground, and the remainder are Athenian red-figured of the best periods. It is this last group, naturally, which interests the student.

J. D. Beazley did not penetrate as far west as Chicago while collecting material for his "*Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*," and except for a few scattered notes and suggestions the vases have remained unattributed. Beazley's latest lists in "*Attische Vasenmaler des Rotfigurigen Stils*" (1925) record only four vases as belonging to the Art Institute. The first of these, a pelike (?) fragment "with the love name Leagros, No. 44 of Klein's list of Leagros Vases (*Leibl.*, p. 81)" is not, and has never been, so far as I can discover, in the possession of the museum, but belongs to the collection of the University of Chicago. The other three identifications were made on the basis of photographs or drawings and not from the vases, themselves.

It is my purpose in the present discussion to suggest identifications for five more vases, connecting them with well-known painters or ateliers, already recognized by Beazley.¹ Two of the vases have been technically "lost," having been purchased in the famous van Branteghem Sale by Mr. Martin A. Ryerson, and remaining, for a number of years, in his private possession.

The first of the group is an unpublished kylix² of the developed severe style. The interior shows a scene of departure (Fig. 1). In a circular field, bordered by a stopped meander interrupted by five reserved cross squares, a youth and woman stand confronting each other. The youth, who faces right, is wrapped in an himation which leaves his right shoulder bare and covers his left arm and hand. His hair is close and cap-like at the top, with a reserved line round

¹ I wish to express my appreciation to Professors George H. Chase of Harvard University and H. R. W. Smith of the University of California for valuable suggestions.

² Accession No. 89.27. Height, 5½ in. (14 cm.). Diameter, 14½ in. (34 cm.) Found at Cevetri, 1878. In the Ruspoli Collection, Rome. Purchased by P. D. Armour and C. L. Hutchinson and given to the Art Institute in 1889. Much broken and mended.

it, but at the sides and over the forehead it is curly and rendered with a dilute wash. His profile lacks a relief line. His right hand grasps a knotted stick, which is drawn in black against the reserved section of his himation, and then turns to reserve against the black background. His right foot is turned out to the left; his left foot is drawn full front.

The woman who faces him is dressed in a long chiton with himation draped round her shoulders and falling in folds over her left



FIGURE 1. INTERIOR OF KYLIX ATTRIBUTED TO THE PENTHESILEA PAINTER

arm. Part of her face is missing; on her head she wears a sakkos beneath which appear a few strands of hair, rendered in dilute wash, and in her ear, an earring. Her hands, which she holds out before her, are bony in appearance and the ends of the fingers are depicted in a series of heavy arcs. In the field hangs a fillet. To the right of the woman is part of a diphros with a striped cushion, and above is placed a hand-mirror.

On the exterior are conversation scenes separated by a floral palmette beneath each handle. On A, there are five figures (Fig. 2). On the left the first two are youths, wearing himations and carrying knotted sticks. The first, who faces right, is drawn in profile and

holds up a pouch to the second who eyes it, standing with right hand on his hip, and left arm resting on his stick. In the center of the design is the draped figure of a woman, standing right but facing left. She wears a chiton and an himation, in which she is completely wrapped. Part of her head is missing. In the second group a woman and a youth stand facing each other. She is dressed like the woman in the center, and her hair is curly round her face. The youth, who faces left, is drawn in profile. He wears a black-bordered himation and carries a stick, and in his right hand is a round object, presumably a ball. In the field are a lekythos and a sponge-



FIGURE 2. SIDE A OF KYLIX ATTRIBUTED TO THE PENTHESILEA PAINTER

bag (?). The hair of all the figures is reserved, and the profiles lack relief lines.

The other side, B, (Fig. 3), shows much the same scheme of decoration, that of two groups separated by a draped figure. To the left are a woman and youth in conversation. She is dressed as were the women on A, but her features are much better preserved. The youth who addresses her is drawn in profile left with shoulders turned, a position which leaves his back and his right arm bare, while he leans with his left arm on his stick. The central figure is very similar to the central figure on A. To the right there is another group, showing a bearded man leaning on a stick and addressing a woman who is walking rapidly right. The man's hair is rendered in the usual way and his beard is painted black with edges thinned in dilute wash. His left hand is outstretched. The woman turns her head towards him, and holds out her right hand with forefinger

pointed. She wears a chiton, an himation, and a sakkos. In the field are pouches, weights, and an embroidery frame.

The kylix has already been assigned by Furtwängler to the "workshop of the Penthesilea Painter."¹ Hoppin² accepts the attribution, and lists the vase among the painter's work, but Beazley who has not seen the vase does not include it in either of his lists in "*Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums*"³ or in "*Attische Vasenmaler des Rotfigurigen Stils*." Furtwängler's list has been greatly corrected and amended since it was first made, and in reference to this vase, it might seem better to adopt the suggestion that it is the



FIGURE 3. SIDE B OF KYLIX ATTRIBUTED TO THE PENTHESILEA PAINTER

work of the painter himself and not merely a product of his atelier. If we consider the kylix from a number of different points of view comparing it with authenticated examples by this painter, there are likenesses which become apparent at once.

First the subject, and the treatment of the subject, fit in very well with one definite division of his work. The Penthesilea Painter was a most uneven master; he could design pieces which had the grandeur of the interior of the "Penthesilea Kylix"⁴ and the "Apollo and Tityos"⁵ cup in Munich, and subjects involving Silens and Maenads which possess the lively grace of the "Boston Kotyle,"⁶

¹ Neue Denkmäler antiker Kunst in the *Sitzb. bayer. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klazz.*, 1897, p. 247, No. 3.

² *Handbook of Red-Figured Vases*, II, p. 340, No. 15.

³ But see p. 129.

⁴ Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Pl. 56, 1-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. 55.

⁶ Beazley, *VA.*, p. 130.

but as more and more of his kylikes come to light, it is apparent that much of his time was spent in drawing simple genre scenes showing departures or amatory conversations, whose chief merit lies in the quick calligraphic touch with which they are rendered rather than in the general design or finish. The present example clearly belongs to his simpler manner.¹

Its style has certain striking similarities with the recognized features of the painter. For instance, the faces and profiles drawn by this artist are strongly individualized. The youth on the interior of the present example shows the pouting lips, and the typical nose, which has a slanting up-stroke, giving it a pinched effect. The same profile, varied a little, is repeated on the first youth at the left on A, on the last youth at the right B, on the woman on the extreme left on B, and on the woman on the extreme right on B. The hair of the youth on the interior is characteristic; it is smooth at the top, and its round profile is stressed with a line of broad reserve; below, it becomes fringed and curly. The woman on the interior has a curly ear which is repeated throughout on the women, and sometimes on the youths. Well-known stylistic marks are the round, smooth chins of the figures, and the rather careless drawing of neck-lines which tend to run into the himations. Further anatomical correspondences may be observed in the outpointing finger of the woman who is walking right on B, in the curly fingers of the woman on the interior, in the swift, simple depiction of feet, with the hook or the closed hook for ankle-bone. At the time when the Penthesilea Painter was active, costume had become fairly conventionalized; one may remark on his fondness for sakkoi, and on his use of the himation, which is apt to be drawn up round the neck, like a collar, particularly on figures of women.

Although the vase does not repeat the exact design of any other published kylix by the master, it is apparent that it shares many of the same compositional traits with the series already mentioned. Its interior is like the interior of a kylix in Boston,² and might be considered almost a continuation of the same scene, with the woman now risen and bidding the youth farewell. The bearded man on the kylix of the Art Institute is of the type found on many vases by the Penthesilea Painter;³ the youths and women are stock figures. Certain other points may be noticed: the painter likes to employ practically the same type of composition on both exteriors of a kylix; here the designs are somewhat varied but similar. The painter

¹ Cf. the series in the Louvre, Nos. G448, G454 and G382.

² No. 13.84 in *A.J.A.*, XIX (1915), p. 400.

³ Cf. a kylix in Philadelphia, *A.J.A.*, XIII (1909), pp. 143-148, where a similar bearded figure is depicted on both exterior scenes.

uses the stopped meander interrupted by reserved cross squares and the single floral palmette, here found. He also has a peculiar way of adapting his interior design to a circular field; his interior figures are broader and more squat than his exterior figures, which often tend to elongation. The present kylix shows this last device, but not to the exaggerated extent in which it is found on the works



FIGURE 4. OBVERSE OF A STAMNOS BY THE SYRISKOS PAINTER

of his imitators, where some of the interior figures become almost dwarfed.¹

The present example of the painter's work, there, although it lacks definite means of authentication, has so many obvious correspondences in style, in manner, and in subject, and fits so logically with other well-known kylikes in the series, that we may probably consider it a work of the master himself, painted probably, close to the middle of the fifth century, when he is thought to have worked.

¹ See the list given by Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 278.

The second vase is a stamnos¹ (Fig. 4) of the late archaic style, simple and large in design. On the shoulder there is a simple tongue pattern, and below the main design, a single reserved line. There is no decoration on the lip or any ornament at the handles. On A (Fig. 4) is depicted a typical domestic scene with three women. The woman to the left, who stands facing right, with her left hand outstretched and grasping a hand-mirror, her right hand holding a flower painted white, wears a sakkos, a chiton and an himation. The folds of the chiton are rendered in dilute orange wash, and at its hem is a border



FIGURE 5. DETAIL OF OBVERSE OF STAMNOS BY THE SYRISKOS PAINTER

of broken meanders. The himation is unornamented. The woman in the center is depicted as spinning. She is dressed in an elaborate chiton with overfold, which has borders patterned in the same design as the first woman's; her hair is unbound and ripples over her left shoulder; she wears a fillet (Fig. 5). She faces left, and in her outstretched right hand holds a distaff, a rod thrust through a bunch of unspun wool, one thread from which is drawn across to the spindle in her upraised left hand. Behind her is a *kline* with arm rest and plain cushion. The last figure is a woman, facing left, playing with a heron. She wears an unornamented chiton and himation; her

¹ Accession No. 16.140. Height, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (36.4 cm.). Diameter, 13 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (33.2 cm.). Provenance unknown. Gift of C. L. Hutchinson, 1916. Broken at base and mended.

hair is similar to that of the second woman, save that it is confined at her neck in a bag. Her left arm and hand are hidden in the folds of her himation, while in her outstretched right hand she holds a branch above the bird's head: all three women wear earrings. In the field to the right is the inscription in white *KALV E NJA*.

On the reverse, B (Fig. 6), there are also three figures, a bearded man between two women. The woman to the left is dressed in a



FIGURE 6. REVERSE OF STAMNOS BY THE SYRISKOS PAINTER

chiton rendered in orange lines, with an overfold having a scalloped edge. She wears a black-bordered himation draped round both shoulders, and holds up the fold of her himation as though it were an apron, and walks rapidly left with head turned right. She wears earrings and her hair in a bag. The central figure, a bearded man, leans right on his stick, with his right hand on his hip, his left hand holding out an alabastron. He wears an himation, seemingly of very sheer material, for the lines of his body are clearly visible through its folds. He faces the third figure, a woman who is turned

in left profile, and who is depicted like the third woman on A, save that her hair is unbound instead of being worn in a bag. She holds a strigil in her right hand. Between the last two figures stands a cushioned diphros, and above hang an alabastron and a fillet.

Both subject and style show that this stamnos may be associated with the work of the "Syriskos Painter,"¹ whom Beazley has identified as the painter of the Villa Giulia astragalos² and the Brussels kotyle,³ as well as a series of vases in what he calls an "academic" style. The Syriskos Painter is closely allied to the Copenhagen Painter⁴ and the style of one might easily be confused with the style of the other, but certain well defined characteristics of this stamnos mark it as the work of the first artist.

The profiles of the figures are strongly marked, with long, even noses, swelling chins, and lips half-parted, giving the appearance of a slight smile. The pupil of the eye is rendered either by a large black dot or by a small black dot reserved in a circle. The eye is shaped like a curved double-bracket, and is set rather far forward in the profile. Even more usual to the work of this master, is the treatment of woman's hair as a system of petal-like loops; this convention is observed whether the hair ripples down the back (as on the central woman on A) or whether it is confined in a bag at the base of the neck (as on the woman to the right on A). The hair has a broad reserved line round it, following its contour and curving over the forehead in a protruding eurl. Fillets are common; the peculiar sakkos worn by the first figure on the left on A is noteworthy.

Anatomical markings are simple and here are rendered in dilute paint, thickening to a relief line. The ankles have an open, straight hook for the ankle-bone; the breasts of women are drawn in a single loop; the lines of the breast, the shoulder and collar-bone observable on the man on B incline to angularity. The painter's most characteristic costume is the elaborate chiton worn by the central figure on A. It has a deep overfold falling from the shoulders into a series of triangular folds, and is ornamented at its borders with a band of broken meanders and a row of dots. The same border design edges the chiton of the first figure on A and may be taken as belonging particularly to the work of both the Copenhagen Painter and the Syriskos Painter. The himations fall in large folds and give an unusual impression of weight; they are drawn with a series of

¹ *Att. V.*, 158-160, 473. *Corpus Vasorum*, Oxford, III 1 c, Pl. 17, No. 9, and Pl. 18, No. 11. *V.A.*, 63-65.

² Hoppin, *RF.*, II, pp. 442, 443.

³ Hoppin, *Handbook of Black-Figured Vases*, p. 473.

⁴ Beazley, *Att. V.*, pp. 156-157; *V.A.*, pp. 63-65; Hoppin, *RF.*, I, pp. 200-202.

parallel lines. The thin chitons are drawn with a rippling hem line which is less marked on work by the Copenhagen Painter.

Equally characteristic are the artist's schemes of composition. He is fond of large imposing figure designs, usually with three figures, the central one of which is balanced by side-figures with arms raised. He is fond of putting various objects into the hands of his models; here, for instance, one carries a mirror, another a spindle and distaff, a third a branch, a fourth a flower, a fifth an alabastron and the sixth a strigil. He makes particular use of furniture, which allows him to tie his large groups together as well as to suggest a setting.

If we compare the stamnos under discussion with other vases by the painter one can note a general correspondence. The central figure on A has her chiton draped in the same manner as figures found on the front of a hydria in the British Museum¹ and on one long side of the Villa Giulia astragalos,² and the same pattern and use of heavy folds is apparent on all three vases. The London vase has an inscription ΕΑΛΕ, ΣΑΛΑΙ, ΗΟΛΙΑ, ΣΟΛΑΙΩ, ΗΟΛΙΩ, ΚΑΙΟΣ. The figure of the man on B might be matched with a similar figure on a stamnos in Würzburg³ and with the third figure on side A of the Brussels kotyle.⁴ On the same kotyle, on side B, the first two figures might be equated for their pose with the woman on B of our stamnos who holds a hand-mirror and the woman on the same side of our stamnos who holds a strigil. In the piece in the Art Institute, the style is grander, as befits the larger vase. The same use of a simple egg-and-dart at the throat and a similar lack of patterns at the bottom of the design are repeated in a stamnos in Munich.⁵ Throughout the other vases on Beazley's list one may note likenesses: the furniture, the typical feathery branch, here held by the third woman on A, and the affected holding of a flower in the left hand, as by the first woman on A.

The present stamnos takes its place with three other vases of the same shape, but the style is more akin to the hydria in the British Museum which we have already discussed. The whole list of vases by this hand now numbers thirty-two, so that it will seem that the Syriskos Painter is a fairly rare master. The only other vase by him in America is the Boston Amphora (13.90), recognized as a mediocre piece. The present identification adds an example in his best style.

The third vase is a Nolan amphora⁶ of pleasing design and finish

¹ No. E. 161, illustrated, Beazley, *V.A.*, p. 64.

² Hoppin, *RF*. II, p. 443.

³ Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Pls. 285-286.

⁴ Hoppin, *BF*, p. 473.

⁵ *Mon. Ined. d. Inst.* I, Pl. 27, No. 28.

⁶ Accession No. 89.17. Height, 13½ in. (34.3 cm.). Diameter, 7½ in. (18.2 cm.). Found at Nola, 1881. Gift of P. D. Armour and C. L. Hutchinson, 1889. Condition perfect except for two small holes in shoulder and a body break on B.

with a single figure on each side. On A (Fig. 7) a woman runs rapidly left, bearing shield and spear. She wears a long chiton with kolpos, and beneath the kolpos the chiton spreads out into a number of fan pleats, ornamented by a single band of the dash pattern. Her face is turned back to the right; her hair ripples over her fore-



FIGURE 7. OBVERSE OF NOLAN AMPHORA BY THE PROVIDENCE PAINTER

head and is confined with a fillet ornamented with four rays, and presumably by a bag at the back of her neck, though this detail is not explicitly rendered. On her left arm she carries a large, round shield, with a device of a chariot-box and with three concentric circles near the rim. A spear, held in the left hand, cuts a sharp

diagonal across the design. Her right hand is outstretched; both her feet are off the ground; the whole figure is conceived with a lightness and grace that are noteworthy. Below is a band of continuous meanders reversing, interrupted by two reserved saltire squares. The hair of the figure is reserved; her chin and nose, where they project over the face of the shield, are painted in relief line (Fig. 8).

The figure on B is the typical mantle figure, here drawn with unusual care (Fig. 9). Seen in left profile, he wears a chiton and himation, the former painted at the neck and arm with a series of strokes



FIGURE 8. DETAIL OF OBVERSE OF AMPHORA BY THE PROVIDENCE PAINTER

in dilute wash, and below the himation with relief lines. He has a black beard and mustache, and hair rendered to simulate curls. His right hand grasps a stick; his left hand is concealed by the himation. Below, is a band of continuous simple meanders.

The workmanship and style of the amphora are attractive enough to allow it to be associated with the "Providence Painter,"¹ whom Beazley has identified in sixty-two examples including a long series of amphorae of the Nolan type and early red-figured lekythoi. This vase obviously belongs among the Nolan amphorae produced by the master and like many others in the series shows a running woman carrying some object, often a torch or a hydria, but here a

¹ Beazley, *Att. V.*, pp. 132-136, 472; *VA.*, pp. 76-80; Hoppin, *RF.* II, pp. 388-395.

spear and shield. The Providence Painter was a neat, clean workman, and even in his hastier designs, like the B of the present example, there is a pleasingly secure touch. Stylistically the design on A is in accord with his designing; he was particularly fond of the



FIGURE 9. REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY THE PROVIDENCE PAINTER

peplos, but when he did not employ this decorative article of dress, he was likely to clothe his women in the chiton with long kolpos.¹ His treatment of folds is somewhat unusual; here they have a neat precision, save that they fall a little short where they meet the hem.

¹ Cf., for instance, the lekythos in Oxford, No. 317, illustrated in *Corpus, Oxford III 1*, Pl. 34, No. 4, for a similar figure, similarly clad.

At the neck and arm, he is likely to end his chiton with three close, parallel lines; the overblouse of the kolpos is likely to be full. Typical, too, is the profile of the figures; the half-parted lips with a short upper lip, the straight nose, the full chin, the black dot for the eye, the open-angled eye-lines and the straight eyebrow. The woman's feet, with their ankle-bones depicted with two lines (one straight and one crooked); the flare of her skirt to the right, and the profile of her body through the chiton on the left, as well as the long drape of



FIGURE 10. DETAIL OF MANTLE FIGURE ON AN AMPHORA BY THE PROVIDENCE PAINTER

the chiton sleeve are but other idiosyncrasies revealed on other vases.

The same type of mantle figure as on B is found on two amphorae in the Cabinet des Médailles¹ (Fig. 10). The painter's favorite Nike is very similar in detail to the woman on A² and a figure on a lekythos in the British Museum,³ running with a helmet and a spear in her hands, bears a remarkable likeness in spirit and movement to the present example, though seemingly of better execution. One more detail must be noted, a very important one for the Providence Painter—his treatment of hands. As befits a draughtsman of energy he renders hands with much expression; the palm is likely

¹ Nos. 367 and 359 in Luynes, *Descriptions de quelques vases peints*, Pls. 27 and 41.

² Cf. the two Nolan amphorae, New York 06.1021.114 (the maenad on B) and Petrograd 701 (A, the Nike with the torch), illustrated by Beazley, *V.A.*, pp. 78 and 79 respectively.

³ No. E 572. Illustrated, Beazley, *V.A.*, p. 76.

to be thrust out, and the knuckles are usually drawn with a series of short, curly strokes. The thumb is often detached¹ and has a hook-like quality, to be observed in the woman's right hand on the present example. Eleven vases in America by the painter have been so far identified, including the key-vase, a neck-amphora with twisted handles.² The present attribution adds one more certainly not among the least attractive of his work.



FIGURE 11. OBVERSE OF NOLAN AMPHORA BY THE
ACHILLES PAINTER

The second Nolan amphora³ is somewhat cruder in drawing and finish than the first. On A (Fig. 11) is depicted an ordinary libation

¹ Cf. the hand of Zeus on a Nolan amphora (No. 368) in the Cabinet des Médailles, illustrated in De Ridder, *Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, p. 269.

² Gerhard, *Aus. Vas.*, Pl. 24.

³ Accession No. 22.2198. Height, 13 in. (33 cm.). Diameter, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (17 cm.); type with ridged handles. Condition good, but slightly worn at the throat. The vase has been somewhat marred by wrong firing; the blacks have burned to red here and there. From the van Branteghem Collection. Gift of Martin A. Ryerson, 1922.

scene with a woman holding out a phiale to a youth. She is clad in a long chiton ornamented with a row of dots at the lower hem, and wears a black-bordered himation draped over her left shoulder. The youth, who faces her, wears a short chiton, a black-bordered chlamys, and a petasos tied over his left shoulder (Fig. 12). He holds a pair of spears in his right hand. Below, there is a carelessly drawn border of three meanders stopped by reserved crossed squares, repeated one and one-half times. There are very evident traces of the original sketch and no relief lines round the figure. Red is employed for fillets and for the strings of the petasos.



FIGURE 12. DETAIL OF OBVERSE OF NOLAN AMPHORA BY THE
ACHILLES PAINTER

On B (Fig. 13) is shown a woman rapidly walking to the right, wearing chiton and himation similar to those of the woman on the obverse, save that the himation is without a border, and that the folds of the chiton are drawn with a dilute orange wash instead of in black relief lines. Both her hands are outstretched as she walks. Below, there is a border of meanders, repeated twelve times (Fig. 14).

This amphora clearly is in the style of the "Achilles Painter"¹ if not the work of the master himself. Beazley in his original article² has so clearly summed up his artistic and stylistic traits, that any detailed account would be superfluous. One of his favorite

¹ Identified by Beazley in *J.H.S.*, XXXIV (1914), pp. 179-226; other lists in *Att. V.*, pp. 371-380, 477, and in *V.A.*, pp. 163-164. Hoppin, *RF*. I, pp. 3-9; cf. Pfuhl, 541 and 543.

² *J.H.S. loc. cit.*

forms was the Nolan amphora, with its convenient areas for simple, striking decoration. The vase under discussion has many points in common with his recognized tricks of drawing and design. On A, for instance, the figure of the woman follows the usual type; her profile is characteristic with its broad head, its prominent lips, the rather wide-opened eye, the nose straight and sharp, the forehead sloping and almost in line with the nose. Her costume, while less



FIGURE 13. REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY THE ACHILLES PAINTER

elaborate than many depicted on the finer vases, shows the same chiton fluted with slender lines of black or dilute wash and decorated with a dotted or broken line on the bottom of the skirt. The short chiton on the youth is regular, save that here it is of more simple type; it exhibits the customary flare above the knee, and the slight blouse at waist and breast.¹ The painter, too, is very fond of the petasos, and here the interior of the hat has been painted with an

¹ Cf. a Nolan amphora in Syracuse 19.859, (A) in *J.H.S.*, XXXIV, p. 197, and a small pelike in Berlin 2355 (A), *ibid.*, p. 193.

orange wash. The hair of youths is of several types; here there are traces of a fillet, and the hair below is curly and thinned to a wash. The woman's hair is simply treated; gathered to a knot in the back, and tied with a fillet. In many of his works a youth carries a spear or twin spears. The black-bordered chlamys and himation, both treated in a pattern of recurring folds, are common.

Anatomically, the youth is depicted in a manner usual to the painter. While less elaborately drawn than on many vases, we have here the use of relief line for the knee, for the toes (which bend up slightly at the outside edge), and for the slight indication of the biceps



FIGURE 14. DETAIL OF REVERSE OF AMPHORA BY THE ACHILLES PAINTER

muscles. He is not of the type which has one foot in profile, and one turned front,—perhaps the more usual form,—but as Beazley says, is of the “type with both legs frontal, one being a little more bent to characterize it as the free leg.”¹ His hand is large, with the thumb-line well-defined; the hand of the woman on the phiale is characteristically indicated by a long curved line for the thumb which grasps the dish, and a series of short straight lines for the supporting fingers. The composition is repeated on several of the painter's vases with certain variations.²

The woman on B has certain characteristics which are plainly in the style of the Achilles Master. Her costume has been considered,

¹ *J.H.S.* XXXIV, p. 211.

² Cf. Syracuse 19.859, *J.H.S.*, XXXIV, p. 197, where the woman is made into a Nike by the addition of a pair of wings. ^o

but worthy of remark is the exaggerated left profile line of her body running from neck to foot. The painter likes to curve in his women's figures, giving them a slender waist and swelling hip-line. The gathering of the himation under the arms in a series of curved lines, and the long line of the chiton at throat running from the back down the outstretched right arm and hand are usual. As to the hands, they are very carelessly painted; indeed, the left one with its curved fingers and heavy wrist looks almost like a paw. The right hand can be matched with several other right hands; take for instance the one on A of a Nolan amphora in the British Museum¹ where a youth raises a bent, full hand to receive armor from a woman. For the general spirit and movement of the woman's figure on B of our example, one might compare the attractive dinos by the painter² with the design of Peleus and Thetis, where there are several striding figures, which, though better rendered than ours, show unmistakable similarities. Finally the border patterns: the meander interrupted by crosses, and the uninterrupted meanders are among the painter's favorite decorations.

All this can still be true, and yet perhaps the main crux of the attribution may not have been reached. Is the amphora under discussion really the work of the painter himself or of a close imitator? In the vases associated with the Achilles Painter Beazley has distinguished one group from the rest, which he calls "Manner of the Achilles Painter,"³ and still another which shows the painter less closely, and is called "Late Imitator of the Achilles Painter."⁴ The most important of these vases, however, have not yet been published, so that it seems impossible to come to a definite conclusion. Stylistically it is extremely difficult to distinguish between poor, hasty drawing of a good master, and the second-rate, ordinary work of a mediocre follower. Certainly the present example is not among the finest of the works by the Achilles Painter; the drawing is easy but crude; the workmanship far from perfect. Particularly may we notice a more simple treatment of chiton and himation than is usual, and the subsequent impression of a less attractive style.

The fifth vase to be discussed is a well-preserved bell-krater⁵ with arming scenes. The design on A is by far the more elaborate and better rendered, consisting of four figures (Fig. 15). First, a woman who faces right, holding in her outstretched hand a fillet, ornamented with black borders and dots. She wears a long Doric

¹ E 329, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

² Att. V., pp. 379-380.

³ Accession No. 22.2197. Height, 15½ in. (38.4 cm.) Diameter, 16½ in. (40.9 cm.) Found at Capua. Formerly in the van Branteghem Collection. Gift of Martin A. Ryerson, 1922.

⁴ Würzburg, 397, *Mon. Ined. d. Inst.* I, Pl. 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

chiton with overfold, fastened at the shoulders and rippling down in a series of open folds on the right side, the last two edges falling into the border design. She wears a fillet in her hair, patterned with dots. Next, there is a warrior seated on a cushioned *klismos*. He is clad in a sleeveless tunic ornamented with borders of dots and a design of scattered dots, and wears an himation. His Corinthian helmet is pushed back on his forehead; beneath, his hair appears curly, and is rendered with a dilute wash at the ends; in his left hand he



FIGURE 15. OBVERSE OF BELL-KRATER BY THE NIOBID PAINTER

holds a spear; in his right a phiale (probably after a metal original), with a design of petals on its side. Opposite to him, facing left, is a woman about to pour a libation into the phiale from an oinochoe which she holds in her right hand. She wears a chiton drawn with a number of folds, an himation with double, black border which falls into a number of straight pleats, earrings, and a dotted fillet with three pointed rays. She rests a large shield on the ground before her, steadying it with her left hand. The shield has a reserved band round the outside and has a device of a laurel wreath. Last,

there is the figure of an old man facing left, who advances carrying a spray of laurel in his left hand, and a staff ending in a trefoil in his right. He wears a chiton with many folds and the dash pattern at the bottom, and an himation with a double, black border. His face has been broken away (in the photograph it appears to have been restored with white paint). In the field are a fluted Doric column and a pair of greaves. Above, is a continuous band of laurel leaves; below, are continuous meanders interrupted by saltire reserved



FIGURE 16. REVERSE OF BELL-KRATER BY THE NIOBID PAINTER

squares. Under each handle, there is a double palmette with sprays and buds (on the right of A the bud is repeated once more than on the left).

The reverse is distinctly disappointing (Fig. 16). Not only is the design hasty and crude, but the firing has been imperfect, and here and there the glaze lines have turned to red and orange. The blur in the photograph is caused by firing; the edges have run and the black glaze paint in the background has turned to a cloudy gray in places. The design is a simpler treatment of the same subject as

the obverse. Three figures take part in an arming scene, two women, and a warrior in the center. The first woman stands facing right, holding out her hands to the warrior, having evidently just given him his helmet. She is dressed in a chiton and himation, with traces of a black border, and wears a rayed fillet in her hair. The warrior who faces left is a squat, heavy figure. He wears an himation and holds a Corinthian helmet out in his right hand (the helmet is decorated with a dolphin), while in his left, he bears a spear and shield, the device on the latter consisting of an open-mouthed lion with extended tongue. The woman's hair is curly, and reserved with a thick line. The second woman, facing left, is similar to the first, except that her fillet is unrayed and that the black borders are used more often on her himation. Her left hand is hidden; with her right, she has just given the shield to the warrior, and is still supporting it. Particularly striking is the exaggerated drawing of hands and feet, the coarse profiles, and simplified use of detail. The borders on A continue on B.

This bell-krater belongs to a painter identified by Beazley as the "Niobid Painter,"¹ to whom he has given several of the most important compositions of the Amazonomachy which have come down to us, as well as the beautiful kalyx krater in the Louvre,² showing the slaying of the Niobids from which the painter takes his name. But as Beazley has pointed out, he did not spend all his time doing this large, handsome, and cold type of designing; he found opportunity to paint a number of lesser pieces which reflect his academic style, his stately movement, as well as his somewhat unpleasing mechanical traits. Among these is a group of bell-kraters, five in number,³ with which the present example may be compared. The subject is first of all thoroughly consistent with the painter; on his vases the warrior's arming appears again and again, and for it the artist conceived a static handling⁴ where movement is suspended and the figures are drawn with a mural-like calm. The obverse of a bell-krater (No. 425 in the Cabinet des Médailles)⁵ attributed to the painter by Beazley, shows a similar treatment of the subject, but the elements are slightly rearranged; to the right is the old man with staff and spray; next comes the woman about to pour the libation; next is a youth in hunting costume with petasos and chlamys, and fourth, another woman. For a different treatment one might

¹ *Att. V.*, 336-342, 477; *V.A.*, 145-150; see also Hoppin, *RF.*, II, 236-246.

² *FR.*, Pl. 108; *Corpus*, Louvre III 1 d, Pls. 1-3 and Pl. 4, Fig. 1.

³ *Att. V.*, pp. 338-339, Nos. 15, 15 bis, 16, 17, and 18.

⁴ For another and more lively style, consult the attractive lekanis in Naples No. 2638, *Mon. Ined. d. Inst.*, I, Pl. 37.

⁵ De Ridder, *Cat.*, Pl. 17.

compare the bell-krater in Tübingen, (E 104),¹ particularly the figure of the woman who hands the youth a sword.

The style of the present vase betrays many similarities with the style of those already accepted by Beazley. Facial types are strongly individualized; the warrior who is the central subject on A has fuzzy hair thinned to curls at the ends; the hair of women is usually arranged in a knot at the back and bound with a fillet, usually with rays which in this master's work appear sharply pointed. The profile line, from forehead to nose (best observed in our present example in the third figure from the left on A) is long and straight and ends in a pointed nose; in many of the vases may be seen a peculiar little curly line for the nostril which gives the effect of a sharp in-curve to that feature. The chin is full and cuts deeply into the neck; the neck-line is exaggerated in its curve. The fingers are often splayed (as in the hand of the warrior holding the spear on 6 A). The very crude hands of the figures on the reverse of our vase seem unusual; there is a suggestion of the same treatment, rendered a little more gracefully on a bell-krater in Bologna.² In most of the faces the eye is drawn as a small black dot; the lips, as a rule, close over a rather straight line, though they often droop a little as do those of the warrior on A.

Style of dress, and treatment of chiton help particularly to identify the painter. The master has a fondness for rippling folds at the open side of the Doric chiton (seen on our first figure on A); he likes to draw his chitons with a series of little sketchy relief lines, and his himations with a rippling overfold which is followed by a single line in black and a border line in heavier black (see the third and fourth figure on A). The helmet is less common on his warriors than the large, floppy petasos. On his large and elaborate pieces one sees the usual border of dots, bound with double lines, which edges the sleeveless tunic of the warrior; the same tunic has a ground design of scattered dots, grouped in threes to suggest embroidery. In the matter of accessories, we may see that this vase is again characteristic. The painter represents the *klismos*, and draws its back with an exaggerated spring, which gives his seated figures a look of slumping down in their chairs. The phiale and oinochoe are common stage-properties, as are the spray and the staff ending in a trefoil which the old man carries; this staff is worthy of comment; it is striped like a barber's pole and is found again and again, always ending with the same finial. Again the Doric column, while a bit of setting that reappears frequently on the vases of this period, is

¹ Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen*, Pl. 30 and p. 47.

² No. 313. Zannoni, *Gli Scavi*, Pl. 39, the hands of the woman at the left.

particularly the device of this painter.¹ He is equally fond of the shield and the spear.

It might be interesting finally to compare the present obverse with a similar hydria in the Cabinet des Médailles, No. 443. It shows a design of four figures;² Apollo, Artemis, Leto and Hermes, and closely parallels certain details in our design.³ For instance, Apollo resembles the warrior in our example; he sits on a similar *klismos*; his profile is drawn with the same peculiarities. The same patterning of three dots occurs on the dress of Leto on the extreme right, as well as the edging ornament of dots bounded by double lines. And last, the borders—the wide laurel and the uninterrupted meander with reserved saltire squares—are usual decorative devices of this painter. If Beazley is to make this master responsible for both the Palermo Amazonomachy⁴ and the Louvre Niobid, he must suppose the two works separated by a number of years. The dating of the present example might perhaps be placed within the decade, 460–450 B.C.

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¹ Cf., for example, the kalyx krater, London E 461, Gerhard, *Aus. Vas.*, Pl. 304; and the vase of the same shape in the Louvre, G. 165, *Corpus, Louvre*, III 1 c Pl. 23, Nos. 2, 3, where the column appears twice.

² Gerhard, *op. cit.*, Pl. 29.

³ Closely related to a hydria published in *Mon. Ined. d. Inst.*, IX, Pl. 17, 2.

⁴ *F.R. Griech. Vasen.*, text, I, pp. 125–132.

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THE LASSO ON A PYXIS IN THE STYLE OF THE
PENTHESILEA PAINTER

In the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* for December 1928 (XXIII, pp. 303-306) Miss Richter published an interesting bobbin, with spirited scenes painted in polychrome on a white ground, representing Eos and Kephalos, and Zephyros and Hyakinthos. Professor Beazley and Miss Richter have rightly attributed these paintings on grounds of style to the well-known Penthesilea painter, who flourished about 460 B.C., and many of whose vases are known.¹ This vase-painter is the same as the one who has been called by Buschor and Pfuhl the "Pferdemeister" or "horse" master because of his liking for spirited horses and his pretty scenes from the stable. To this same master, I believe, belongs a pyxis which has recently come into my possession and which probably was found with the New York bobbin. It may even have come from the same grave in Attica and was probably a companion piece. Only one other small pyxis, besides the large one assigned to the Penthesilea master by Beazley,² has been attributed to this versatile painter by Miss Swindler.³ But this attribution of this white ground pyxis in the Metropolitan Museum representing the judgment of Paris has been rejected by Beazley,⁴ who thinks it resembles the style of the Pistoxenos painter.

The Baltimore pyxis⁵ is remarkable not only because it has great artistic beauty to which the photographs do scant justice but because of the unique and important scene painted on the cover. The box itself (Fig. 1) with black concave sides is low and without decoration except for the red olive leaves, some separated by white berries, on the lower band. On the bottom are a dotted circle, and two broad black circular bands within narrower bands. The lid⁶ (Fig. 2) has a border of similar red olive leaves and white berries

¹ Cf. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler des Rotfigurigen Stils*, pp. 272 ff.; *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, pp. 129-132; Hartwig, *Die Griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rotfigurigen Stiles*, pp. 491 ff.; Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, pp. 281-285, pls. 6, 56; Buschor, *Greek Vase Painting*, pp. 137-139; Miss Swindler, *A. J. A.* XIII, 1909, pp. 142-150, XIX, 1915, pp. 398-417; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, pp. 528-533; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, pp. 179, 219.

² Cf. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 277, No. 64 (Athens F 50).

³ Cf. *A. J. A.* XIX, 1915, pp. 414-415.

⁴ *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, p. 130; *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 261.

⁵ Diam. of lid 0.147 m. Diam. of white part 0.11 m. Ht. of pyxis 0.035 m. Ht. of design 0.04 m.

⁶ The bronze handle is modern.



FIGURE 1. SIDE VIEW OF THE PYXIS



FIGURE 2. THE COVER OF THE PYXIS

underneath,¹ and above, one of spirals and palmettes. The convex centre has a rich cream ground on which the painting is done in light reddish-brown, purple and black (the last for the shield device). An Amazon on horseback is riding rapidly to right. The horse is spirited and vivacious with left foreleg raised and tail flying back in the air. The cowboy Amazon is clad in long trousers and pointed low shoes, painted purple. She wears a long-sleeved jacket with a low V-shaped opening in front. Her hair is short, reaching only to her neck. She brandishes in her left hand a battle axe with long handle. In her right hand with outstretched fingers she holds the slip-noose of a long lasso which seems to be wound about her waist, and to go over her left shoulder. The short end of the rope hangs down from her hand, as should not be the case with a good lasso according to American cowboys. The artist was evidently none too familiar with the correct way to make a loop. The Amazon is looking back at the lasso, as Myron's discobolus looks back at his discus, as if making ready to throw it over the head of the Greek hoplite who crouches in front of the horse. His right knee is on the ground and his left knee is bent with the left foot pressing on the ground. He wears a crested helmet, painted purple. He carries a long spear in his right hand, and protects himself with a purple round shield decorated with a serpent² in his left hand. He is crouching low with curved back as if to escape the lasso and ready to plunge his spear into the horse of the Amazon. Beyond the hoplite is an olive tree³ and another Greek helmeted hoplite who is standing and clasping in his right hand, stretched far back, a stone which he is about to throw at an Amazon, who is now missing from the vase, except for the point of her spear behind the first mounted Amazon's horse.

The lasso is, so far as I know, unique in Greek art.⁴ Whether it was ever used in Greece is doubtful, as this vase may show oriental influence and not reflect an actual usage in Greece itself. The lasso was known to many of the nations of Western Asia. The Assyrian sculptures of Ashurbanipal in the British Museum show it.⁵

¹ The design is similar to that on the white top of the cylix in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts representing Apollo and a Nymph, probably also by the Pen-thesilea Painter.

² Cf. Chase, *Harvard Studies in Cl. Phil.* XIII, 1902, pp. 119-120.

³ Cf. Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elemente in der Griechischen Kunst*, 1910.

⁴ The fourth century red-figured bell krater pictured in Zahn, *Sammlung Baurat Schiller*, Berlin, 1929, pl. 31 shows a rider on horse-back holding a round object over the horse's head. It is not a lasso but rather, as Zahn says, a wreath as on Tarentum coins.

⁵ Cf. *Assyrian Sculptures in British Museum*, Pl. 34; Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 502.

Pausanias (I, 21, 8) says with regard to the Sarmatians:¹ *σειρᾶς περιβαλόντες τῶν πολεμίων ὅπεροις ἐπιτίχοιεν, τοὺς ἵππους ἀποστρέψαντες ἀνατρέποντι τοὺς ἐνσχεθέντας ταῖς σειρᾶς.* Pomponius Mela (I, 19, 17) says that the women of the Maeotici (Sarmatians): *equestre proelium ineunt nec ferro dimicant sed quos laqueis intercepere, trahendo conficiunt.* Herodotus (VII, 85) says with regard to the Sagartians: *χρέωνται δὲ σειρῆσι πεπλεγμένησι ἐξ ιμάντων ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωσι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι, βάλλοντι τὰς σειρᾶς, ἐπ' ἄκρῳ βρόχους ἔχοντας, δρευ δ' ἀν τίχη, ἢν τε ἵππους ἢν τε ἀνθρώπους, ἐπ' ἔωτρὸν ἔλκει, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔρκεσι ἐμπαλασθέντες διαφθείρονται.* The Parthians² also used the lasso, and were called *σειραφόροι*. In Greek literature and art the use of the hunting net frequently occurs,³ but I know of no other representation in Attic art or any mention in Greek literature of the use of the lasso in Greece. And yet this pyxis seems to show that the Greeks in Athens in the fifth century knew of its employment. Otherwise an Attic artist could hardly have pictured an Amazon holding the lasso as on this vase. Possibly the artist had seen the Sagartians, with dyed garments and high boots, with dagger and lasso, when they invaded Greece with Xerxes in 480 B.C. It is barely possible that one of the Sagartians and not an Amazon is represented on our pyxis but Greek vase painters generally follow types and the type is surely that of an Amazon fighting a Greek. Since the man-slaying Amazons had settled in the land of the women-ruled Sarmatians and Herodotus (IV, 116) tells us that the Sarmatian women imitated the methods of the Amazons, it is natural for an Amazon to use the lasso which Herodotus says that the Sarmatians used and which perhaps they got from the Amazons. Mikon painted a picture of the battle with the Amazons in the Painted Stoa in Athens about 460 B.C. and our pyxis probably was influenced by that picture, especially as we know that the Penthesilea Painter was familiar with Mikon's paintings.

The question arises as to who the painter of our pyxis was. If it is the Penthesilea painter, as we have suggested, the influence of mural painting is easily explained, as Furtwängler once thought that the Penthesilea kylix in Munich was the work of one of Athens'

¹ Cf. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, pp. 73, 288. On the famous Chertomlyk vase lassos were rendered in silver wire.

² Cf. Suidas, s. v. *σειρά*.

³ Cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 330 ff; and other references cited by Weleker in *Rh. Mus.*, I, p. 435. According to Hesychius, s. v. *Ἐπισπάσαι. Σοφοκλῆς Ἀτρεῖ οἱ Μυκηναῖοι τὸν τοῖς λίνοις λαμβάνοντας.* It is probable that a lasso is represented on a Chalcidian vase where Glaucus holds in his hands a rope wound about Achilles' left ankle and with it is trying to pull Achilles' corpse away from Ajax. Cf. Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, pl. XII.

great mural painters. But it is the custom now to speak of an unknown vase-painter, the Penthesilea painter, and assign to him all the vases in the same style. He must have been a great vase-painter, as Beazley has been able to attribute to him more than sixty-four vases, and many more to his pupils. The grandeur of conception, the largeness of style, the dramatic imagination, the vivacious and rhythmical composition with much use of the diagonal line, the free and swift movement of the mounted cow-boy Amazon, the emotional quality, the bold design, the fondness for woodland scenes, the technique in polychrome on a white ground with glaze for the outlines of the figures, for the hair etc. but reddish brown or purple for the garment, shoes, shield, helmet etc. (quite different from the usual red and black color scheme), the extensive range of color, the influence of mural painting, the characteristic hair of the Amazon, the outstretched fingers and other details but especially the liking for a scene with horses¹ and Amazons² make it certain that we have another vase of the so-called Penthesilea painter. I believe that this remarkable vase is a mature work and too artistic and original to have been done even by one of his most brilliant pupils. The painting is more detailed and refined than on the New York bobbin, which is an earlier work.

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¹ Cf. Furtwängler-Reichhold, *op. cit.*, pl. 56; *A.J.A.* XIII, 1909, pp. 146-148; Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, pls. 291-292; Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, III, G. 448, pl. 145.

² Cf. especially the exterior of the Bryn Mawr kylix with a combat of Greeks and Amazons, where a Greek also carries a shield with a serpent as emblem, *A.J.A.* XIII, 1909, p. 404.

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MAYA CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

THERE were in use among the Mayas two calendar systems, one of which may be termed the Akbal Calendar, wherein the day Akbal occupied the 1st, 6th, 11th, or 16th position of the Maya month, and the other the Kan Calendar, which was the prevailing calendar at the time of the Spanish Conquest, wherein the day Kan occupied in turn those month positions. In the former calendar the month coefficient of the day Ahau was 3, 8, 13, or 18, whereas in the latter it was 2, 7, 12, or 17.

A few of the Akbal Calendar inscriptions may be passed in review. Stela 1, at Tulum, recorded the Initial Series:

9-6-10-0-0 8 Ahau 13 Pax

Recent discoveries of unmistakable Initial Series centering around 9-10-0-0-0 at Macanxoc in northern Yucatan "have enormously increased the authenticity and prestige of the Tulum Initial Series, 9-6-10-0-0, as representing a contemporaneous date."

"The subject portrayed on Stela 2, at Tulum, goes back to the time of the Old Empire and the border of circles is also found on Old Empire monuments." The correct reading of a day glyph with damaged coefficient is judged to be 2 Ahau. Assuming it to record a Katun 2 Ahau, three positions in the long count have been proposed:

11- 2-0-0-0	2 Ahau	8 Zip
11-15-0-0-0	2 Ahau	8 Zac
12- 8-0-0-0	2 Ahau	3 Pop

A dating more consonant with the Initial Series of Stela 1 at the same site would be:

9-16-0-0-0 2 Ahau 13 Tzec

At Tayasal, which evidently was occupied during the Old Empire Period, has been assembled a lintel, the date thereon deciphered as 11 Ahau 18 (Mac), and given the Initial Series value:

12-5-9-0-0 11 Ahau 18 Mac

In view of the discovery at Flores, not far from Tayasal at the extreme western end of Lake Peten Itza, and at Ixlu at the eastern end of the lake, of four stelae, namely:

Flores	Stela 1	10-1- 0-0-0	5 Ahau	3 Kayeb
"	" 2	10-2- 0-0-0	3 Ahau	3 Ceh

Ixlu	Stela 1	10-1-10-0-0	4 Ahau	13 Kankin
"	" 2	10-2-10-0-0	2 Ahau	13 Chen

a more satisfactory reading of the Tayasal inscription would seem to be:

9-18-0-0-0 11 Ahau 18 Mac

There are recorded in several Lintel Temples of Old Chichen Itzá, at Station 7, the dates:

1 Ahau	Tun 10
1 Ahau	Tun 1
9 Lamat	11 Yax
1 Ahau	Tun 13

These dates have been interpreted:

11-2-10-0-0	1 Ahau	3 Uayeb
11-7- 1-0-0	1 Ahau	13 Kankin
11-8-19-5-8	9 Lamat	11 Yax
11-9-13-0-0	1 Ahau	13 Pop

Conformable with the well-known Initial Series at Chichen Itzá:

10-2-9-1-9 9 Muluc 7 Zac

the period ending dates and the Lamat inscription may be read:

9-16-10-0-0	1 Ahau	3 Zip
10- 1- 1-0-0	1 Ahau	18 Pax
10- 2-12-1-8	9 Lamat	11 Yax
10- 3-13-0-0	1 Ahau	18 Zip

It may be stated, however, that no Initial Series value assigned to the date, 9 Lamat 11 Yax, is entirely satisfactory. If 9 Lamat 11 Yax fell in a Tun 13 ending on a day 1 Ahau, there is but one position within a range of 18,700 years it could occupy in the Akbal Calendar long count, and that position is unacceptable, viz.:

4-6-12- 5- 8	9 Lamat	11 Yax
12-12		
4-6-13- 0- 0	1 Ahau	18 Zotz

The Monjas, at Chichen Itzá, has "the sloping upper half of the façade, which feature reached its highest development in the Old Empire at Palenque." It is stated that "the day 8 Manik, recorded five times in the second story of the Monjas without its corresponding month positions, was in reality a Maya New Year's Day, written

8 Manik 0 Pop," and it is linked up with the date, 1 Ahau Tun 10, of the Temple of the Two Lintels, at Old Chichen Itzá, thus:

11-2-10-0-0	1 Ahau	3 Uayeb	1014 A.D.
5-1-7			
11-2-15-1-7	8 Manik	0 Pop	1019 A.D.

This form of a Cuch Haab is very typical of Baktun 9, especially during the Great Period of the Old Empire; a later form corresponding to 9 Lamat 1 Pop is evidenced by pages 25 to 28 of the *Codex Dresdensis*, wherein the highest Baktun value recorded is 10,—consequently, the ascription of a Cuch Haab of the form, 8 Manik 0 Pop, to Baktun 11 is an apparent anomaly and of itself renders suspect any assignment of the aforementioned inscriptions of the Lintel Temples at old Chichen Itzá to Baktun 11.

A date recorded on a fragment of a hieroglyphic frieze which went around the upper part of the Caracol at Chichen Itzá has been read:

11-16-0-4-1 3 Imix 9 Yax

A reading more comparable with other inscriptions found at Chichen Itzá would be eleven Calendar Rounds earlier, namely:

10-7-0-5-1 3 Imix 9 Yax

However, Dr. Morley writes in reference to the Caracol inscription that, "A day 3 Imix is here declared to occupy the month position either 9 or 14 Yax and the next glyph is very surely a Tun 1." Also, according to the illustration given on page 249 of an extract from *Year Book No. 24*, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1925, the coefficient of the month Yax seems to be 14, and the glyph with a Tun-like headdress and an Ahau ear-plug, which follows Tun 1, may record 5 Ahau. If so, the Caracol frieze inscription would then read:

10-12-0-12-1	3 Imix	14 Yax
5-19		
10-12-1-0-0	5 Ahau	13 Pax

In the Temple of the High Priest's Grave at Chichen Itzá was found an inscription comprising about eleven glyphs, the first two of which apparently record the date, 2 Ahau 18 Xul. The third glyph has a superfix 7; the fourth a superfix of two ornamental dots; the fifth is a winged glyph with a superfix presumably 8; the sixth is likewise a winged glyph; the seventh has a coefficient 10, and may record a Baktun 10; the eighth is damaged beyond decipherment; the ninth is a Zotz-like head with a coefficient 1, and may record

Uinal 1; the tenth has a coefficient 11, and is subject to more than one interpretation, and finally the eleventh may be a repetition of the initial 2 Ahau, or may record an entirely different Ahau day.

The inscription was read:

11-19-11-0-0 2 Ahau 18 Xul

Since various glyphs, apparently of a calendar nature, are of unknown import, and since the true significance of their coefficients can only be guessed at, many hypothetical readings of this inscription are possible. For example, if the strange glyphs and coefficients, including the winged fifth and sixth glyphs, are ignored, and it is assumed that the ninth glyph records Uinal 1, as well it might according to appearance and position, and it is further assumed that the indefinite tenth glyph with coefficient is a winged glyph and records Tun 11, the inscription would read:

10-10-11-1-0 2 Ahau 18 Xul

The Zottz-like glyph and coefficient, whatever the value, may be germane to the proper construction of the High Priest's Grave inscription at Chichen Itzá.

The foregoing review of Akbal Calendar inscriptions leads to a conclusion that, according to present available data, the assignment of an Akbal Calendar date, as a contemporaneous date, to Baktun 12 or to Baktun 11, is of questionable validity.

Akbal and Kan Calendar dates should not be confused and interchangeably used, but should be kept distinct. The general practice of converting a Kan Calendar month coefficient into a higher unit for the purpose of adjusting a Kan Calendar date to the Akbal Calendar long count has little justification save the simplification of mathematical operation.

The assumption usually made—and apparently the only one adducible in justification of a theoretical single day shift—namely, that the Maya calendar change arose from Mexican influence, which assumption naturally rests on a further assumption that the change was subsequent to Mexican contact, is not sufficiently explanatory in as much as the Akbal Calendar was in better agreement than the Kan Calendar with the Nahua system of chronology.

As is well known, an effect requires an adequate cause. The Christian calendar underwent a shift of ten days in 1582, but that shift had adequate cause. There is no known cause, or hypothetical adequate cause, for a disruptive shift of just one day in the Maya calendar.

Since no convincing reason has been forthcoming to account for a

single day shift in the Maya time count, it would seem logical to assume a shift of one plus some multiple of five days, of twenty-six plus some multiple of sixty-five days, or the like, as a legitimate method of intercalation,—or, to assume the adoption of more than one independent zero starting-point, be it in commemoration of eponymous ancestors, *ab urbe condita*, the rise of a new dynasty, or for some other sufficient cause.

J. T. Goodman¹ presents his opinion, thus:

"Another source of confusion in the Yucatec chronicles, quite as misleading as the mutilation and errors, is the fact that in different ones time is computed from at least three, and probably four, separate starting-points. I think it likely that each of the four ruling houses—the Itzas, Cocoms, Xius and Chels—had a chronology of its own, though using a common annual calendar, the result being that mention of the same event by members of the different houses would assign its occurrence to different ahaus (tuns) and even katuns."

Dr. S. G. Morley,² in explanation of the difference between the correlation indicated by the Chronicle of Oxkutzcab and that suggested by him, writes:

"If, however, the foregoing historical and archaeological evidence necessitates the rejection of this correlation, we are nevertheless still confronted with the equally indisputable fact that such a chronology was actually in use at the time of the Spanish Conquest, as clearly proved by page 66 of the *Chronicle of Oxkutzcab*. Here is a serious difference indeed between equally creditable evidence. The *Chronicle of Oxkutzcab*, as we have seen, is one of our most reliable sources, and the page in question was copied by the great-great-great-grandson of Napot Xiu, a century and a half after the latter's death, from an ancient book, presumably a family possession. Such a source as this cannot be overlooked or disregarded, particularly since the year-bearers which it gives agree exactly with those in almost all of the other sources. And yet we have just seen that even though this chronology seems to have been in use among the Xiu at the time of the conquest, as soon as we apply it to the *u kahlay katunob* and even to the Xiu monuments such as the Uxmal lintel and ring, it immediately gives rise to impossible conditions. What, then, is the explanation of this apparent paradox, a chronological system known to have been in use at the time of the Spanish Conquest which nevertheless cannot be made to fit the *u kahlay katunob* and the monuments.

"The writer believes the correct explanation of this apparently irreconcilable difference is that at the time of the Spanish Conquest *there were two systems in use in Yucatan*," etc. The italics are Dr. Morley's.

A Kan Calendar Long Count, based on data from Uxmal and Ichcaanziho, supplemented by other sources, may provisionally be reconstructed.

¹ *The Archaic Maya Inscriptions*, p. 2.

² *The Inscriptions at Copan*, pp. 511-12.

UXMAL DATA

On a capstone (or lintel) in the East Range of the Monjas Quadrangle at Uxmal is painted an inscription, a calendar part of which clearly reads:

5 Imix	18 Kankin
18 Tun	13 Katun

In the Ball Court at Uxmal were found two sculptured stone fragments comprising less than a quarter section each of two rings that projected respectively one from the eastern and the other from the western wall of the "Tlachtli" field. On the northern side of the eastern ring segment is decipherable a Tun glyph with a coefficient 17, then comes the break leaving a mere fraction of a glyph with a coefficient apparently 12.

Analogous to the Monjas Quadrangle inscription at Uxmal, the pair of glyphs with coefficients may have recorded:

17 Tun	12 Katun
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ICHCAANZIHO DATA

The Spaniards arrived at Merida, then called Ichcaanziho or Tihoo, during the year 1541. Merida was founded January 6, 1542. The formal act of foundation took place during the Maya year, 13 Kan, in Katun 11 Ahau, that is, after the completion of Katun 13 Ahau.

Padre Diego de Landa, Bishop of the Diocese of Yucatan and Cozumel with seat at Merida, 1573-1579, who came to the peninsula in 1549, wrote his remarkable and priceless book entitled *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatan* between 1561 and 1566. "What little we know of the Maya calendar has been derived directly from the pages of this book, or by developing the material therein presented." His work is "the *sine qua non* of our knowledge of Maya chronology." On page 103 of the *Relación*, Madrid Reprint, 1881, as translated on page 488 of *The Inscriptions at Copan*, Diego de Landa definitively writes:

"The Indians say, for example, that the Spaniards had just arrived at Merida in the year of the Nativity of our Lord, 1541, which was precisely the first year of the age of 11 Ahau, which is that where the cross is (reference to a drawing of a katun-wheel in the text) and they arrived the same month of Pop which is the first month of their year."

INCIDENTAL DATA

The Tun dates expressed or implied by the elderly Don Jhoan Xiu in his copy of the *Chronicle of Oxkutzcab*, made on May 29, 1685, which fell in Cuch Haab 13 Cauac, can be fitted into a reconstructed

Kan Calendar long count—irrespective of whether they legitimately belong there—on the assumption that the series of Tuns have been misplaced two Calendar Rounds. Incidentally, a critical analysis of the copy may yield indications that the Tun dates were added long subsequent to the Spanish Conquest after time and disuse had dulled knowledge of the Maya calendar system, and presumably they were supplied by the Don who at the age of eighteen years succeeded to the headship of the Xiu family, in 1640 A.D., about the time when a Katun 3 Ahau ended, perhaps a memorable date for him and so recorded in his copy with a marginal directive line, 3 Ahau 7 Yaxkin,—hence, with permissible minor corrections of month coefficients, the Tuns may record actual dates referable to the period of his youth near the middle of the seventeenth century.

J. T. Goodman, in an article entitled "Maya Dates,"¹ writes:

"The 11 Ahau katun of the Itzas, Cocomes and Chels began December 25, 1536."

There is a likelihood that his original source of information dealt with a Don Pio Perez type of a Katun, the type referred to by D. G. Brinton on page 11 of *The Books of Chilan Balam*,² thus:

"It is true that there are three *Books of Chilan Balam*—those of Mani, Káua and Oxkutzcab—which are definitely in favor of *twenty-four* years; but, on the other hand, there are four or five others which are clearly for the period of twenty years," etc. The italics are mine.

The Book of Chilan Balam of Káua, beginning on page 82, presents thirteen heads to each of which are attached the words, "24 años."

The Book of Chilan Balam of Chumayel, on pages 53 to 66, likewise presents a series of thirteen heads, numbered 1, 2, 3, etc., to which Christian dates are added, at intervals of twenty years, apparently as approximations in round periods when the Katuns commenced, thus:

Page 53, Head with 1, Buluc (11) Ahau, Katun	
" 55, " " 2, Bolon (9) Ahau, " 1560	
" 56, " " 3, Vuc (7) Ahau, " 1580	
" 57, " " 4, Ho (5) Ahau, " 1600	
" 58, " " 5, Ox (3) Ahau, " 1620	
" 59, " " 6, Hun (1) Ahau, " 1640	

Etc.

In the three separate *Books of Chilan Balam*, that of Mani (Xiu locale), that of Tizimin (Itzá), and that of Chumayel I (Xiu), appears a statement which may have some interest but cannot be given much weight because it is contradicted by the general context wherein it occurs. According to a sentence on page 486 of *The Inscriptions at Copan*:

¹ *The American Anthropologist*, 1905, Vol. 7, n.s., p. 645.

² *Penn Monthly Reprint*, 1882.

"All three state that when Napot Xiu died, 6 tuns were still lacking before the end of Katun 13 Ahau, which would place the end of Katun 13 Ahau in 1541 or 1542."

A KAN CALENDAR LONG COUNT				
Zero	11 Ahau	7 Zac	2104002	1048 VI 11
12- 0- 0- 0	13 Ahau	2 Xul	2190402	1284 XII 29
Ven. Inf. Conj. V. H. L.	105 ⁰ .1		2190401.58	G. C. T.
12-16-17- 4	7 Kan	1 Pop	2196506	1301 IX 15
	Autumnal	Equinox	2196506.48	G. C. T.
12-17- 0- 0	10 Ahau	17 Pop	2196522	1301 X 1
Ven. Sup. Conj. V. H. L.	200 ⁰ .6		2196527.31	G. C. T.
13- 0- 0- 0	11 Ahau	2 Pop	2197602	1304 IX 15
	Autumnal	Equinox	2197602.21	G. C. T.
13-18- 0- 0	4 Ahau	17 Kankin	2204082	1322 VI 13
13-18- 0- 1	5 Imix	18 Kankin	2204083	1322 VI 14
	Summer	Solstice	2204083.23	G. C. T.
18- 0- 0- 0	1 Ahau	12 Ceh	2233602	1403 IV 9
18-13- 0- 0	1 Ahau	7 Chen	2238282	1416 I 31
Ven. Inf. Conj. V. H. L.	141 ⁰ .2		2238283.98	G. C. T.
1- 0- 0- 0- 0	10 Ahau	12 Uo	2248002	1442 IX 11
1- 4- 0- 0- 0	2 Ahau	2 Uayeb	2276802	1521 VII 18
1- 4-15-12- 0	13 Ahau	2 Chen	2282442	1536 XII 26
24 years of 365 days before Katun 11 Ahau ended				
1- 5- 0- 0- 0	13 Ahau	2 Kankin	2284002	1541 IV 4
1- 5- 0- 5- 4	13 Kan	1 Pop	2284106	1541 VII 17
1- 6- 0- 0- 0	11 Ahau	2 Chen	2291202	1560 XII 20
1-10- 0- 0- 0	3 Ahau	7 Yaxkin	2320002	1639 Nov. 6, n.s.
1-10- 1- 0- 0	12 Ahau	2 Yaxkin	2320362	1640 Oct. 31, n.s.
1-10- 2- 0- 0	8 Ahau	17 Xul	2320722	1641 Oct. 26, n.s.
1-10- 3- 0- 0	4 Ahau	12 Xul	2321082	1642 Oct. 21, n.s.
1-10- 4- 0- 0	13 Ahau	7 Xul	2321442	1643 Oct. 16, n.s.

Etc.

Any systematic altering of the Baktun values will leave essentials unaffected; for example, the date, 13 Ahau 2 Kankin, may be given a Baktun position 4, thus, 4-5-0-0-0, and the result would simply be a different zero starting-point three Baktuns further in the past.

To summarize: it may be conservatively stated that the evidence for the use of a uniform calendar system throughout the Maya area is inconclusive; that the contralateral evidence for the existence of two or more distinct calendar systems is sufficiently weighty to warrant due consideration; that, until a more convincing explanation of a single day shift in the Maya time count is forthcoming, the interchangeable use of Akbal and Kan Calendar data contravenes sound scientific principles; that, according to present available facts, no Kan Calendar date may properly be assigned a definite position in the Akbal Calendar long count.

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ANTIQUE FIG-BEADS

THE name "fig-beads" may be given to a class of beads in form resembling the natural fig fruit. Their occurrence is limited to the period from the ninth century B.C. to the first century A.D., and during that time they occur in Italian, Syrian and Egyptian tombs.

As regards the origin of these beads, nothing is known with certainty. Few, if any of them, could have been made in Syria, and none in Italy, for no glass industry existed there before the time of Augustus. Egypt, however, had long been the principal emporium of beads of all kinds, and presumably all the fig-beads of glass found in Syrian and Italian tombs came from this country. Syrian glass beads of other kinds of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. were all poorly¹ made and not in any way comparable to the elegant and finely executed Egyptian beads of that date. The fig-beads seem to have been used by the better classes who favored Egyptian glass of all kinds, and whose most precious objects appear to have been small Egyptian vases and flasks.¹

The object of this paper is to connect the first appearance of fig-beads with the first appearance of the fig in Europe, and the occurrence of fig-beads in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. will naturally strengthen the theory that the fruit was imported from the east at that time.²

CHRONOLOGY OF THE EDIBLE FIG

The historical data on the edible fig has already been collected and critically discussed³ and, according to the researches of the investigators, it is known that the edible fig was not mentioned in the Iliad, but that there are five references to the fruit in the Odyssey. These references, however, may be later interpolations and thus cannot establish the date when the fig was introduced into Greece. Both Hehn and Solms-Laubach assume that the first undisputed mention of the fig is found in Archilochos, who writes that the fig grown in Paros contributed to the pleasures of life. Upon this they base a theory that the fig was introduced into Greece in the ninth to

¹ Etruscan Museum in Villa Giulia, Rome, third room, new wing on the ground floor.

² H. Graf zu Solms-Laubach, *Die Herkunft, Domestic. u. Verbreitung d. gewöhnlich. Feigenbaums (Ficus carica L.)*, Göttingen, *Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wis.* 1882, p. 28. Eisen, G., *Biological Studies on Figs, Caprifigs and Caprification*. *Cal. Acad. Sci. Proceedings*, Ser. 2, V. 5, 1896.

³ V. Hehn, *Culturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien*, pp. 71, 85;—H. Graf zu Solms-Laubach, *ibid.*, pp. 72-74;—G. Eisen, *The Fig*, U. S. Depart. Agricult. Div. Pomology, *Bulletin* No. 9, 1901.

the eighth century B.C.—that is, some little time before the poets wrote. They further tell us that Hesiod (ninth century) did not mention the fig. The reference in the Bible (*Amos VII, 14*) to the caprification process of the fig establishes the fact that in the seventh century the knowledge of fig culture was understood in Palestine. Romulus and Remus, according to the legend, were nourished by the wolf under a fig tree—*ficus ruminalis*—which shows that the fig, at least according to legend, was grown in Italy at an early date. The combined evidence of these references points to the eighth century as the probable time when the fig was already established in Europe—presumably imported from eastern Arabia over Syria and Asia Minor. However, this theory of the date of introduction would not be convincing except for the fact that beads of glass and paste with the form and appearance of figs are first recorded in Italy, from tombs of the ninth to eighth centuries B.C. Similar beads of glass have also been found in Syria and Egypt, but have never received any recognition from investigators.

The characteristics of all these fig-beads are the same, as is evident to any one who has occupied himself with the study of beads, for the fig-bead of any one of the three countries has its counterpart in the others, and the respective types in each country must belong to the same period. It is even probable that they were all manufactured in the same place. If we endeavor to trace the origin of fig-beads to a single type of fig we discover that there are three species of figs that must be considered: the common edible fig (*Ficus carica*), native of Arabia; the Abyssinian fig (*Ficus pseudocarica*); and the Egyptian sycamore fig (*Ficus sycomorus*). The Arabian fig is generally light in color, white, yellow, green or blue. The Abyssinian fig is generally reddish brown, and the sycamore fig is greenish yellow, more spherical or flattened spherical than the other two varieties. The sycamore fig can be eliminated at once because its form and color are such that it could not have served as model for the artistic glass beads. Of the three species the Arabian fig is the hardest; the Abyssinian and the sycamore fig, both of tropical origin, are affected by frosts and could never have established themselves in a wild state outside of the tropics. So evidence points to the Arabian fig as the source of design.

THE FIG IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Actual figs have been found by Petrie in the Royal Tombs at Abydos.¹ The fig tree is recorded on wall paintings of the fifth

¹ Flinders Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pp. 36, 38. All the Egyptian references have been furnished me by Miss Caroline Ransom (Mrs. Grant Williams).

dynasty¹ and the fruit is frequently represented in the offering lists as shown in the tomb of Perneb² colored yellow by ochre, with green on the neck and red eye. The yellow color of the fruit has been noted by others, but not the red eye. Actual fruit of the sycamore fig has been found also in the twelfth and eighteenth dynasty tombs and sporadically down to the Roman Empire.³ The earliest known representation of the true fig, generally supposed to be the *Ficus carica*, is in wall paintings of the Middle Kingdom at Beni Hasan,⁴ described by Woenig⁵ as being brown in color. These figs, which can be readily recognized in the paintings, belong to a distinct species evidently of later introduction than the sycamore. If this fig were identified as the common edible fig, great doubt would be thrown on the date of its introduction into Europe in the eighth century, because it is inconceivable that it should have required over one thousand years for the tree to reach Europe. However, the Beni Hasan fig is probably not identical with the Arabian fig, but with the Abyssinian fig, the former constituting the last and third kind introduced into Egypt. Hence none of these ancient examples is identical with the Arabian fig which appears first represented in glass beads. The earlier figs were inferior in quality to those introduced late, because the fruit contained male flowers and wasp galls, both of which are unpalatable. From a horticultural standpoint they were also inferior because the tree was dependent for fertile seed upon a minute wasp which bred in the fruit and carried the pollen from one flower to another. The newly introduced Arabian figs were superior in quality because the galls and male flowers were borne on separate trees, which thus did not need to occupy room in the orchards, and the absence of male flowers and galls greatly improved the eating quality of the fruit. The sycamore fig still remains in Egypt, and specimens are also found in Europe. Its importance lies principally in its size which makes it valuable for shade and lumber. The Abyssinian fig has disappeared from Egypt, having been superseded by the Arabian fig.

EGYPTIAN PREDILECTION FOR BEADS REPRESENTING ANIMATED OBJECTS

The Egyptians seem always to have possessed a taste for beads representing fruits, flowers, domesticated animals and insects. The earliest beads of this kind belong to the first dynasty⁶ and represent

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Pls. 53 and 61.

² Metropolitan Museum, New York, Access. No. 13. 183. 3.

³ Newberry in Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 53.

⁴ Rosellini, *Monumenti II*, Pl. XXXIX.

⁵ Franz Woenig, *Die Pflanzen im alten Egypten*. Leipzig, 1883.

⁶ Metropolitan Museum, New York, Egypt. Dept. Room 1.

lotus flowers and melons. From the Palace of Amenhotep, eighteenth dynasty, the same museum possesses a large collection of melon beads, persea beads, flower and petal beads. The real rage for beads of animated forms seems to have begun in the sixth century B.C. The bead makers then represented the heads of foreigners with whom they came in contact, and of several kinds of domesticated animals, probably introduced about that time by the Persians. The latest fruits to be represented in glass beads are dates, raisins, raisin seeds and acorns. These seem to date from the time of the Ptolemies. From this we see that the fig-bead is not an isolated product of the glass makers' art, but one of many spread over a long period of time. As I have said, in Italy and Greece no glass industry can be shown to have existed until the time of Augustus, but pottery beads and whorls were made to represent animated objects. These beads and whorls do not appear to have been made for purposes of trade, but for domestic use alone.

CHRONOLOGY OF ITALIAN FIG-BEADS

The earliest fig-beads, from Conca, the ancient Satricum,¹ were found with bronze objects, implements, vases, etc., datable to the eighth century B.C. Others of the same date are from Vetulonia.² Two fig-beads from Corneto Tarquinia³ are strung with beads of the eighth century B.C., but are probably of later date (Fig. 1 nos. 5 and 6). Fig-beads of the ninth to eighth centuries are numerous in Italian museums, and all are characterized by a naturalistic form and primitive appearance. A sixth century fig-bead in the National Museum of Ancona⁴ was found with objects of the sixth century. These fig-beads of the eighth to sixth centuries are all of inferior workmanship, glass and color. The really fine fig-beads begin with the fifth century B.C. At this period Attic figs were valued very highly, and the story went out that Xerxes caused them to be placed on his table in preference to all others.⁵

The finest collection of sixth to fifth century fig-beads is found in the National Museum of Bologna. Numbers 16-18 represent some of the handsomest specimens known.⁶ After the fifth century fig-beads become rare in Italian tombs, none being sufficiently well dated to be valuable for reference. From the Augustan era we

¹ Etruscan Museum in Villa Giulia, Rome, third room, new wing on the ground floor.

² Archaeolog. Museum, Florence, No. 6241.

³ National Museum, Rome, Nos. 5191, 5181.

⁴ Sala N, case 73.

⁵ M. Willkomm, Ueber Südfrüchte, R. Virchow *Saml. gewissens. Vortrdg.* Ser. XII, 265-268, Berlin, 1877.

⁶ Bologna, Etruscan tomb, Predio Arnoaldi, case E.

possess a few specimens (Nos. 23, 24) which can be dated, because they are inlaid with a type of mosaic glass which did not exist before the time of Augustus, and which disappeared with the end of the first century A.D. This type of mosaic, and the manner in which it is applied to the bead, resemble exactly what we find in some beads excavated in Pompeii.¹ I have also seen it on a bead from Nemi² which was found with bronze objects of the first century. The latest fig-beads observed so far are some in the Lombard necklaces dated to the sixth century A.D. in the Terme Museum in Rome, but these seem to be intrusions, derived from robberies of ancient tombs.

DESCRIPTION OF TYPES

The earliest fig-beads resemble the Arabian fig in form more than do the later fig-beads. Their color is simpler, and their ornamentation seems to have been copied from the natural cracks in the fruit when mature (Fig. 1, nos. 2, 9). The later beads of the sixth to fifth centuries B.C. possess a more complicated ornamentation, are made of a better quality of glass, are more highly decorated, and show more skilful workmanship. In them the form of the natural fig is less apparent and many possess a collar round the narrow end (Fig. 1, nos. 11-13, 15, 22). On many the top of the collar is ornamented with glass globules (No. 15), others possess a row of such globules around the base (Nos. 17, 18), or around the girdle (No. 15), or around base and neck (No. 13). The decoration seen in number 14 is unique. The most common ornamentation consists in a wave band of glass thread around the girdle. The latest fig-beads are, like most beads of that period, ornamented with inlays of mosaic glass, a process unknown in the fifth century B.C. but commonly employed in glass vessels in the time of Augustus. The inlay resembles that found on glass beads from Pompeii. Neither Kisa³ nor Reinecke⁴ mention fig-beads although they occupied themselves extensively with the period in which they occur.

SUMMARY

The theory advanced by Hehn and Solms-Laubach that the edible fig was introduced into Europe about the ninth to eighth centuries B.C. is strengthened by finding beads representing figs (*Ficus carica*) in Italian tombs of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. The absolute

¹ Museum to the right in the city gate.

² National Museum, Rome.

³ Anton Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum*. Hiersemanns Handbücher No. III. Leipzig, 1911.

⁴ F. Reinecke, *Glasperlen vorrömische Zeiten, Altertümer unserer heidnische Vorzeit*, Bd. V.



FIGURE 1. FIG-BEADS FROM ITALIAN TOMBS, EIGHTH CENTURY B.C. TO FIRST CENTURY A.D.

Eisen del.

similarity between these beads and others found in Syria and Egypt prove that the latter are of the same date, and probably of the same make. These beads are the earliest representations known of this kind of fig, for the ancient wall paintings represent either the sycamore fig or the Abyssinian fig, both species of inferior quality.

NOTES ON THE BEADS IN FIGURE 1

Numbers:

1-4. From Conca, Etruscan Museum, in Villa Giulia, Rome. Glass. Eighth century B.C.

5, 6. Museo Nazionale in Corneto Traquinia. Nos. 5191, 5181. Strung with eighth century beads. These beads seem to be of later date, and are undoubtedly intrusions. There is no record that they were found together with the other beads.

7. From Vetulonia, Archaeological Museum, Florence, Sala I, Vetr. III, Poggia alla Guardia. No. 6241. Terracotta. Found with eighth century objects.

8. From Volsinia, Necropoli Cannicella, Florence Museum, Sala III. Black terracotta. Eighth to seventh century. A spindle whorl.

9. National Museum, Orvieto. Glass. Found with objects of the eighth century B.C.

10. Castellani Collection, Rome. From Palestrina, found with objects and beads of the fifth century B.C. Sherry colored glass with darker stripes.

11. National Museum, Ancona, Sala H, Case 48. Necropoli di Numana. Found with objects of the fifth century B.C.

12. From the same case as the last, but from another tomb of the date.

13. The figure is copied from *Un antico Necropoli a Marzabotte* by Conte Giovanni Gozzadino. Bologna, 1865. Glass. Found with objects dated by the author to the fifth century B.C.

15. From Padua, tomba della Palazzina, Museo prehist., Rome, Sala XXXVI, Nos. 56460-56453.

16. National Museum, Bologna, Sepolcro Etrusco, Predio Arnoaldi, Case E. Found with another bead characteristic of the fifth century B.C. The figure is one sixth smaller than the original.

17, 18. From the same necklace as the last.

19. National Museum, Bologna, Case G. Giardino Margherita. Glass.

20. Same Museum, Case F. Sepolcro di Certosa. Nos. 159-170. Fifth century B.C.

21, 22. Same Museum, Bologna, and from the same cemetery, marked 38. A. 71, No. 133/A 7. and 133/B. Glass. Found with objects dated by curator to the latter part of the fifth century B.C.

23. National Museum at the Terme, Rome. In the case with the Roman mosaic glass.

24. From the same Museum; part of the old collection from Kircherianum. Both these beads, 23 and 24, have ornaments of mosaic glass inlaid in the surface, thus constituting a distinct type, that could not have existed before the time of Augustus.

GUSTAVUS A. EISEN, PH.D.

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1929
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS¹

SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

EDWARD H. HEFFNER, *Editor*

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

MISCELLANEOUS

EURAFRICA.—**Palaeolithic Leaf-Type Implements.**—In *Mitt. Anth. Ges.* l ix, 5-6, pp. 293-310 (20 figs.), H. OBERMAIER and P. WERNERT present an important study of leaf-type stone implements from Lower and Middle Palaeolithic levels. These have never been sufficiently studied. Leaf-shaped stone artefacts, usually chipped on both sides, double pointed, relatively thin in cross-section, and varying roughly from 3 to 12 cm. are found in northern Africa and southwestern, central, and eastern Europe. The centre of this development was northern Africa and central Spain. Researches in Anatolia, the Balkans, and the Danube region, it is believed, will lead to the fuller understanding of this culture.

POLYNESIA.—**Pitch-Stone Head.**—In *Z. Ethn.* ix, 4-6 (1928), p. 386 (fig.), WALTER KNOCHE describes an unusual, atypical human head carved out of pitch-stone, from Easter Island. The sculpture is 12 cm. in height and exhibits features resembling those of a Greek mask. The color is dull black. The unusual features may be the result of working under difficulty the material with the brittle and only slightly harder obsidian tools.

PREHISTORIC, ORIENTAL, AND CLASSICAL EGYPT

EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA.—The dependence of Egyptian civilization upon Sumerian civilization has been argued by De Morgan, Hommel, Frankfort, Scarff, and others. In *Arch. f. Or. Forsch.* v, 1929, pp. 49-81 (1 plate), F. W. VON BISSING subjects all the arguments that have been urged in support of this theory to a careful analysis, and comes to the conclusion that there is no sure evidence of the dependence of archaic Egyptian art upon Elamite or Mesopotamian art. Whether in the fifth and in the fourth millennium B.C. there was any direct, or even any important indirect influence, any contact between the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris and Euphrates, cannot be decided at present by archaeological methods; only fuller historical evidence can bring certainty in regard to this

¹ The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and Bibliography of Archaeological Books is conducted by Professor HEFFNER, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor SAMUEL E. BASSETT, Professor CARROLL N. BROWN, Miss MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, Professor SIDNEY N. DEANE, Professor ROBERT E. DENGLER, Mrs. EDITH HALL DOHAN, Mr. VLADIMIR J. FEWES, Professor HAROLD N. FOWLER, Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, Professor RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN, Professor CLARENCE MANNING, Professor ELMER T. MERRILL, Professor LEWIS B. PATON, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Professor JOHN SHAPLEY, Professor KENNETH SCOTT, Professor FRANCIS J. TSCHAN, Professor AXEL J. UPPVALL, Professor SHIRLEY F. WEBER, and the Editors.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material printed after December 31, 1929.

For an explanation of the abbreviations see Vol. xxxiv, 1, p. 124, and Vol. xxix, 1, pp. 115-116.

problem. The anthropological evidence is just as uncertain as is the archaeological.

The Inscription of Amen-em-heb.—Amen-em-heb was an Egyptian officer who flourished under Thutmose III. His tomb contains an account of his expeditions and travels in Palestine and Syria, which is of great importance for the geography of the period and for the history of the campaigns of Thutmose. In *R. Bibl.* xxxvii (1929), pp. 567-579, P. TRESSON gives a critical study of the text of this inscription, with a fresh translation, and attempts in the light of the latest geographical investigations to determine the locations of the places mentioned.

ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA

Chronology of the Age of Hammurabi According to the Latest Investigations.—In *Biblica*, x (1929), pp. 332-362, J. B. SCHAUMBERGER gathers up the results of the latest astronomical investigations in regard to the date of Hammurabi, sixth king of the Amorite First Dynasty of Babylon. In 1912 Scheil, on the basis of certain observations of Venus, recorded under Ammizaduga, the fourth successor of Hammurabi, calculated that Hammurabi began to reign in 2123 B.C. Later Kugler emended this to 1947; Weidner, to 1955; Schoch and Thureau-Dangin, to 2003. In their recent publication, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*, Langdon, Fotheringham, and Schoch accept 2067 as the beginning of Hammurabi's reign. This conclusion Schaumberger supports by a mass of astronomical and historical evidence, and this date he regards as now definitely established.

CTESIPHON.—O. REUTHER describes the German excavations of 1928 at Ctesiphon (*Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 434-451). He discusses the steps by which the excavators upset the previous identifications of the sites of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, and shows that the ruin near the Taq-i-Kisra is the great hall of the royal palace in Ctesiphon. The excavators also have thrown much light upon the methods of Sassanid palace-building.

The Oath in Early Babylonia and in the Old Testament.—In *J.A.O.S.* xlix (1929), pp. 22-29, I. M. PRICH examines the etymology and the usage of the Sumerian, Akkadian, and Hebrew words for "oath," and investigates the customs connected with the taking of an oath. He comes to the conclusion that in all cases the oath is a prayer that a curse may fall on oneself if one does not fulfill a promise. Throughout the ancient Orient the oath accompanied with a curse is the final resort to curb evil-doers and to rescue the innocent under false accusation. Based upon a religious belief, it seems to have been the most effective measure of restraining society, and of stabilizing the civil and economic activities of peoples whose religious and moral force alone were not equal to their daily tests.

The Sassaru of the Babylonian Sun-God.—In Babylonian and Assyrian representations of the sun-god, Shamash, he holds in his hand an object called the sassaru, the meaning of which has been much disputed by archaeologists. In *J.S.O.R.* xiii (1929), pp. 127-129 (3 figs.), H. DOMBART contends that this object is a saw which symbolizes the first beam of sunlight flashing through the crack in the opening doors of the east through which the sun comes out. This view he confirms by representations on seals, in which the object has the clear form of a saw.

SUSA.—Archaic Pottery.—In *R. Arch.* xxix (1929), pp. 217-234, AMÉLIA HERTZ writes of the archaic pottery of Susa and of prehistoric writing in southwestern Asia. The monochrome vases in the very lowest strata of the acropolis of Susa which J. de Morgan calls Proto-Elamite she calls Proto-Elamite I, to distinguish

them from the Elamite proper or Anzanite pottery. On the basis not of Susa itself, where the monochrome ware existed only on the acropolis, the abode of the gods, but of finds in Moussian, and southern Mesopotamia, where a distinction in use seems to have been made between the monochrome and the coarser pottery, the author regards these vases as objects of cult rather than of practical use and thinks that the geometric and naturalistic designs on them were pictographs, anterior to hieroglyphic signs. These she thinks, comparing them with Maya and Aztec pictograms, were not merely representations of their gods—men seem to be introduced in them solely as priests—and certainly they did not serve merely as vase decorations but expressed some idea (e.g., recorded some myth). Thus in Mexico, a chief with plumes seated before a temple signified the conquest of a city, and in Egypt the falcon, representing Horus, if placed above the sign of a given city, denoted the god as victor, or if the falcon held a cord fastened to the nose of a man behind whom were six stalks of papyrus, this meant that Horus had taken 6,000 men captive. Myths, religious fêtes, and astrological formulae, as was the case in Mexico, may have been recorded by these writings in Susa. The local religion seems to have been a worship of Nature in the form of animals, birds, and plants, whom the people regarded as gods. A number of these pictographs are described and their supposed explanation given, and an attempt is made to show that the Proto-Elamites were conquered by the Moussianites, who adopted their pictographs at a time when these had developed into genuine cursive writing, and that these were succeeded in turn by Proto-Elamites II, and finally by the Sumerians.

Whence Came the Sumerians?—In *J.A.O.S.* xlix (1929), pp. 263–286, G. A. BARTON discusses the difficult question of Sumerian origins in the light of the latest evidence. The presence in Babylonia of Neolithic pottery identical with that found at Susa indicates that the earliest known inhabitants of Babylonia were akin to the Elamites. Hence the Sumerians arrived later from some other region. They did not come from Elam, since their language was totally different from Elamite. A northern origin is unlikely, since their costume was adapted to a tropical climate. An Indian origin is not proved by the remains recently found at Harrapa and Mohenjo-daro in northern India. These remains at the utmost prove commercial relations between India and Sumer in the earliest times. Anthropological investigations yield no sure results, since Sumerians and Semites are both dolichocephalic, so that their skulls can hardly be distinguished. Barton thinks that the Sumerians were descended from dolichocephalic men of Palaeolithic times, who had survived in some mountain fastness far from the Hamitic-Semitic center and had developed an entirely different language. It is possible that their homeland was Oman, and that they were already inhabitants of eastern Arabia when the Semites entered its western part from Africa.

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The Archaeological History of Ancient Jerusalem.—In *Pal. Ex. Fund*, lxi (1929), pp. 138–149, E. W. G. MASTERMAN summarizes the evidence that the eastern hill of Jerusalem is ancient Jebus and Zion, the City of David; and gives an outline of the archaeological history of the site in the light of the most recent excavations.

The Habiri of the El-Amarna Tablets and the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine.—In *J.B.L.* xlvi (1929), pp. 144–148, G. A. BARTON shows that the archaeological and the Biblical evidence point to two Hebrew invasions of Canaan, one in the period of the Tell el-Amarna letters, the other about 1200 B.C. The earlier in-

vasion was that of the Leah tribes; the Rachel tribes were in Egypt, whence they came out under the leadership of Moses and Joshua. If this theory be true, then the conquests of the Habiri in the Amarna period should have secured for them northern and southern Palestine, leaving central Palestine where the Rachel tribes afterwards obtained a foothold. With this the facts of the Amarna letters agree. The letters from Abdi-Hepa of Jerusalem show that the Habiri pushed up from the south, just as the Children of Judah did according to *Judges* 1-15. The letters from northern Palestine show that the Habiri were occupying that part of the country, just as the Hebrews occupied it according to *Judges* 1: 30-36. The failure of the Habiri to occupy central Palestine, shown by the fact that there are no remains of the Late Bronze Age, is explained by the narratives of *Gen.* 33: 18-34: 31, and 49: 5-7 of the failure of the Leah tribes Simeon and Levi to capture Shechem. The Biblical material and the Amarna letters fit together so admirably, when two Hebrew invasions are postulated, that this seems a strong confirmation of the theory.

HARRAT ER RADJIL.—L. W. B. REES (*Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 389-407) with maps and illustrations describes various cairns and their interior drawings and the "Kites" in the basalt area east of Amman.

KATNA.—Under the title *The Syrian Town of Katna and the Kingdom of Mitanni*, CH. VIROLLEAUD (*Antiquity*, iii (1929); pp. 312-317) identifies ancient Katna, first mentioned in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, with the ruins underlying the modern Mishrifé, a village eleven miles from Homs.

MASADA.—Under the title *The Roman Siege of Masada*, CHR. HAWKES (*Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 165-187) gives an excellent topographico-historical description of the ancient Masada, the rock of Sebbeh, which lies above the Wadel-Hafaf, which runs into the Dead Sea through thirty-two miles south of the mouth of the Jordan. Roman military engineering in wild, rocky country forms the main part of the discussion.

The Origin and Antiquity of the Mandeans.—In *J.A.O.S.* xlix (1929), pp. 195-218, C. H. KRAELING tries to sum up the results of the vast amount of evidence concerning the Mandeans that has been accumulating of late. He shows that they are not a Christian, or a Jewish, or a Muhammadan sect. Their affinities with Marcionites, Kanteans, and Manichaeans are superficial. Their cosmogony has rather the marks of primitive thought, and harks back to the traditions of the Orphic hymns, of Mochos, and Sanchuniathon. Their traditions, their script, and their use of West Semitic forms, indicate that they probably originated in Palestine. It is improbable that John the Baptist was the direct founder of the community, but it must have had an important contact with circles perpetuating the movement of John. The anti-baptist polemic of the Fourth Gospel indicates that the Mandeans could have come into contact with the followers of John even in the early years of the second century. As a sect, the Mandeans are not without second-century affinities.

ASIA MINOR

Did the Early Semites of Asia Minor Use the Alphabet?—In *J.A.O.S.* xlix (1929), pp. 122-127, F. J. STEPHENS gathers evidence that seems to show that the Semitic Cappadocian merchants of the third millennium B.C. knew the alphabet as well as Babylonian cuneiform. Writing of this sort was on parchment, or other perishable material, and therefore has not come down to us; but its existence may be inferred from the following facts: first, the Cappadocian inscriptions have the word-divider, as is usual in the most ancient alphabetic inscriptions. This is not found in cuneiform elsewhere, and suggests knowledge of the alphabetic

system; second, the Cappadocians know an official called *sibru* alongside of the *dupsharru*, or tablet-writer; this seems to be a derivative of the root *sapar*, 'to write,' and to describe a person who wrote on parchment rather than clay; third, the smallness of the Cappadocian syllabary suggests alphabetic influence; fourth, the slanting character of the Cappadocian cuneiform may be due to the influence of alphabetic writing; fifth, these Cappadocians belonged to the Amorite race, among whom we first find the alphabet in use.

GREECE

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Archaeology and Homer.—The long past that lies behind the Homeric poems in the form that has come down to us from the ninth century B.C. is continually being illuminated by the discoveries of the spade, until now it is possible, by comparing the poet's descriptions of visible objects with similar actual objects or their representations, to trace elements in the poems back to fairly definite periods in the preceding centuries, even as far as the sixteenth century, and into phases of Minoan culture that were entirely unknown and uncomprehended in the ninth century. The 'documents' range from the ground-plans and frescoes of palaces, the dove-handled cup and inlaid dagger-blades of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, the Vaphio cups and Cretan engraved gems, to Egyptian tomb-paintings of armored strangers, Mycenaean shards, and the shields from the cave of Cretan Ida. Even the style of the poetry, which is, of course, the culmination of a long literary development, has points of resemblance to Minoan visual art, such as the clarity and detail of objective description. Certain marks of contact with the late Minoan culture of Cyprus suggest that the path of bardic tradition passed from Crete to Greece through this island. The large number of non-Hellenic words in the Greek vocabulary and the exotic character of Greek versification are elements belonging to another phase of the problem and one that has scarcely yet been touched upon, that is, the non-Hellenic language, in which the epic tradition originated. H. L. LORIMER, *J.H.S.* xlix (1929), pt. ii, pp. 145-159; 4 figs.

ITHACA.—Under the title *χθαυαλή Ιθάκη*, F. P. JOHNSON (in *A.J.P.* l. 3 (1929), pp. 221-238) discusses the disagreement among Homeric scholars as to whether *χθαυαλή* means *low*, orographically, or something else, and shows that in contrast with Cephalenia, Ithaca is physically *low*. He also discusses the late excavations, and states that they "furnish the strongest evidence *against* the plain of Nidri as the Homeric site."

Thessalian Studies.—This article in *B.C.H.* lii (1928), pp. 444-465 (pls. XXI, 8 figs.) is the second of a series by Y. BÉQUIGNON, based on topographical studies made on the spot. (For the first, on the battlefield of Pharsalia, see *B.C.H.* lii (1928), pp. 9-44.) This paper is devoted to the retreat of Philip V in 198 B.C. and the Aetolian raid into Thessaly. The retreat of Philip into Thessaly after the defeat at the Aoos, in order to assure his possession of that territory, is described, as is also his subsequent return to Tempe to regain Macedonia. Philip's strategic objects are discussed. No difficulties can be found with the accounts of this maneuver: but the situation is different when the question of the Aetolian incursion is taken up. Hardly had they learned of the defeat of Philip, when they entered Thessaly from the southwest, and pillaged all the towns that they captured. But where these towns were, and which they were, is uncertain. Our main source of information is Livy (XXXII. 13. 10 f.), who, in common with all other texts, is inspired by the account of Polybius, which, unfortunately, is

lost. Of the towns mentioned by Livy, three only can be identified and located with certainty, Metropolis, Thaumachus, and Xyniae. Thanks to this, we can reconstruct the route of the Aetolians, who first marched south southwest to reach the Thessalian plain; then shifted to southeast and finally returned toward the south. Three stages can be determined: (1) from Aetolia to Metropolis; (2) from Metropolis to Xyniae; (3) from Xyniae back into Aetolia. By following these indications the writer believes it possible to identify many of the towns mentioned by Livy.

ARCHITECTURE

CRETE.—**Architecture and Pottery at Mallia.**—J. CHARBONNEAUX contributes notes on the above subjects in *B.C.H.* lii (1928), pp. 347-387 (pl. XIX; 15 figs). The first part of the article (pp. 347-363) is devoted to considerations of the architecture, supplementary to what has already appeared in the first published report. The walls were not built on foundations in the usually accepted sense of the term, but the site was chosen for the firmness of the ground on which they were built. This ground was leveled, either by excavation or by filling in the inequalities, to form two terraces, and the walls were laid directly on it. The materials used, when of stone, were taken from local quarries. This stone is of two sorts, a very hard blue-grey limestone, and a soft tufa. Other materials were rubble, sun-dried brick, and wood. The tufa was used for the massive exterior walls, in large blocks. Only on the northwestern wall do we find "Cyclopean" blocks of limestone. The interior walls are of a rubble of the hard limestone in small pieces, reinforced with wooden beams and brick, and coated with stucco. Where stucco is employed on the surface, a first coating of clay is applied to give it a firm bedding. The exterior blocks are carefully dressed, and the whole is stuccoed to conceal the joints. The palace faced the west, as at Knossos, Phaestos, and Gournia, and only on this side was attention paid to the beauty of the façade. Where brick is used for the walls, they are of varying sizes, but no deduction as to different periods of construction can be drawn from the sizes of the brick. Wood was used for reinforcement in brick and rubble walls and for outer faces, as, for instance, in door-jambs and tops of walls and rudimentary pilasters or antae. The presence of buttresses at certain points indicates the existence of upper stories. On the stucco were often painted designs on a white ground. Doors were hinged with bronze and the presence of holes on some of the thresholds indicates that bolts were used. No evidence remains as to the use of windows, but it is probable that the interior walls were pierced with windows giving on the court. Stairways were made either of dressed stone, or of wood. Of floors there are three kinds, beaten earth, stucco or pavement, and even in the case of the floors of beaten earth, it is not improbable that they were stuccoed. Paved floors do not appear to be earlier than the second palace. Columns were of wood, and pillars of stone, the former antedating the latter. Some of these columns of wood go back to E. M. II, while the pillars begin to be used in M. M. I.

The second part of the article (pp. 363-387) is devoted to an examination of the pottery finds. Some Neolithic sherds have been found, but no definite Neolithic stratum, and these sherds are associated with E. M. I pottery. One of these fragments seems to come from a *Schnabelkanne*, and there are a few with incised designs, some of which are probably E. M. I. Of the true E. M. ware numerous fragments and vases of the mottled "Vasiliki" ware have been found, in the ruins of the first palace. Of the E. M. III-M. M. I pottery much with light-on-dark decoration appears, belonging to the period of the construction of the second palace. This wave is similar to that of the same period from Palaikastro, Mochlos,

and especially Gournia. Contemporaneous with this is a series of vases imitating metal technique, similar to a style discovered by Seager at Vasiliki. Some dark-on-light ware of this period is also found. Most of this ware of M. M. I is peculiar to eastern Crete, very little having been found at Knossos, and none in the Mersara tombs. Of M. M. II pottery very little is found, the pure Kamarea ware hardly appearing at all. According to Evans, this seems to be because in eastern Crete the style of M. M. I continued to persist through M. M. II, a view accepted by the writer of this article. Of M. M. III ware much is found, but the centre of manufacture seems to shift to Knossos. The earliest pottery of this period is light-on-dark, of which very little has been found: most of the sherds are of the dark-on-light, very simply decorated with Geometric designs, ripples, and running spirals. Later in the period we find rudimentary plant forms, suggesting the transition from M. M. III to L. M. I. The latest pottery of Mallia is of this last period. A brief summary of the lessons taught by the pottery at Mallia concludes the article.

The Hypostyle Hall of the Palace of Mallia.—In *B.C.H.* lii (1928), pp. 324-346 (9 figs.) R. JOLY discusses this huge hall, the principal discovery made at Mallia during the campaign of the summer of 1925. It is composed of the hall proper and a vestibule, through which it is reached, and occupies nearly all of the northern border of the central court. At the west, a paved passage leads to the northern quarters of the palace, and at the east there was a stairway leading to the first floor. It is pointed out that the common plan of Minoan buildings was to divide them into a number of distinct quarters, that could readily be isolated from each other, and this hypostyle hall is such a quarter at Mallia. The vestibule is 10 by 4 metres in dimensions, and forms the only entrance from the court to the hall. Almost in the centre of this vestibule is a quadrangular stone pillar. The entrance to the hall from the vestibule is in the east wall, adjoining the south. This hall is about ten metres square, and had six square pillars of unequal dimensions, in two rows of three each from east to west, considerably off centre. The whole is preserved to a height of approximately one metre. The columns in hall and vestibule are a hard brown stone called *ammouda*, the walls are of rubble and clay, which were originally reinforced with wood, and the interior was revetted with stucco. The floor was originally of beaten earth for the most part, with some paving stones placed at intervals, and was likewise stuccoed. The pillars were also covered with stucco, held in place by a clay revetment over the stone. This stucco in every case was white, and was made from a powdered limestone. It is probable that the only light the hall received was through the two doors which were placed as close together as possible, or there may have been windows giving on the court at the south. The evidence shows that this hall supported an upper story, reached by the eastern stairway. The pottery found in the hall is of poor quality, and all of it seems to belong to M. M. III, showing that the hall was used in this period, but the evidence of the method of construction shows that it was built in M. M. I, abandoned in M. M. II (no pottery of this period was found), and reoccupied in M. M. III. This hall is larger than the largest rooms at Knossos or Phaestos, which it considerably antedates. The question arises—for what purpose was it built? There are few parallels to this hypostyle hall in Minoan buildings, the nearest being the "Pillared Crypt" at Knossos, from which, however, it differs materially. Finally a comparison of this hall with Egyptian mastaba tombs of the Old Kingdom is given. The period in which the hall at Mallia was built was just anterior to the twelfth Dynasty in Egypt, and consequently, if we are to find Egyptian influence, it must be of the Old Kingdom. The writer believes that it is a form borrowed from that country, as the use of pillars

is not found in E. M., and that here as in Egypt, they are asymmetrically arranged.

SCULPTURE

Ancient Art of Portraiture.—In *Archaeologia Értesitō*, xliii, pp. 1-14, ANTON HEKLER discusses: (1) A figure of a Greek philosopher in the Berlin Antiquarium, No. 6310, which is neither a genre picture nor a caricature but which belongs to a good style of sepulchral sculpture. He admits that it is impossible to find the definite marble original of this work, which seems to be a case of portraiture, but he compares it with a head of a philosopher on a herm in Naples (*Museo Nazionale Guida*, No. 1083, p. 258). (2) He points out many marks of the same kind of workmanship in a marble head from a bronze original now in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (Paribeni, *Guida*, p. 227, No. 620 (1239)), and connects it loosely with the bronze head of Antikythera in Athens, which is again associated with the name of Lysippus. The pose of this statue is probably like that of Menedemos from the painting in the Villa of Boscoreale. (3) The bust of an emperor in Museo Chiaramonti of the Vatican (No. 555), and assigns it, on the basis of the hair, to the time of Hadrian. (4) The armored statue in Munich (Arndt-Amelung, No. 984) is a copy perhaps also made in Greece of the Aristippus statue. The work of the Munich copier is even better than in the Aristippus statue. (5) In the Sala dei busti in the Vatican, No. 358, we have a finer replica of the statue described by Hekler in the *Bildniskunst* T. 148. It comes from the last period of the republic. (6) A replica of the bust of the young Hadrian in Berlin, No. 413, is found also in Soanes Museum (Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Homes*, No. 81). It is of Parian marble and probably also comes from Greece. Finally he pictures busts of Menander and Aristotle, now in the Athenian National Museum. The copy of Aristotle has not been hitherto mentioned or illustrated.

Bas-Relief of Hercules.—In *Mdl. Arch. Hist.* xlvi, 1/5 (1929), pp. 1-42, BAYET publishes a bas-relief in the National Bulgarian Museum at Sofia, which he interprets as a funerary representation of Hercules with the features of the deceased. The divine character of the priest-king in Thrace, the circulation of coins representing Alexander the Great as Heracles, the introduction into Thrace of the Greek Heracles and the subsequent importance of the cult of the Roman Hercules in this district in the third century of our era, the centering of Roman nationalism in the person of the emperor under the divine form of Hercules, all lead Bayet to the conclusion that the Roman patriot and devotee of Hercules in the third century A.D. also placed himself after death under the protection of this god, who by his alliance with Dionysus and participation in a banquet of the other world was associated with the Thracian Zalmoxis and Sabazius. Those interested in Bayet's excellent investigation should also consult A. R. Anderson's "Heracles and his Successors," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 39 (1928), pp. 7-58.

The Bronze Statue Recently Found in the Sea.—The wonderfully preserved bronze statue of a god, probably Poseidon, complete with head, arms and hands, which was found in October, 1928, off the coast of Artemisium in Euboea, is pictured and appraised by C. KAROUZOS in *J.H.S.* xlix (1929), pt. ii, pp. 141-144 (2 pls.; 2 figs.). To be dated about 460 B.C., between the Olympia pediments and the Parthenon, it is especially welcome as illustrating one of the most obscure periods of the fifth century. The style is not pure Attic, and further study is needed to determine its school. So far, only one or two quite remote reminiscences of the type have been recognized. A bronze horse of severe style and a non-Hellenic figure of a youth, both exceptionally good, have rewarded later search on

the same spot. A local tradition that another bronze statue was found in the vicinity about a century ago and sold to an Englishman, is worth bearing in mind.

Clay Statue of Artemis from Southern Thrace.—In *Bull. Bulg. Arch. Inst.* v (1928-29), pp. 1-12, B. FILOW describes a statue of Artemis which is of interest for various reasons. It is relatively large—including the base 80 cm. in height, and was discovered in 1917 near Tuzla on the south coast of Thrace, and near the peninsula of Kurshumlu. The statue represents Artemis wearing the Doric peplos and moving rapidly forward. She is placed on the front part of the basis in order to give the impression of motion. Other statues of Artemis which may be compared with this are those of the Artemis Colonna in Berlin and the statue of Artemis in the Capitoline Museum, both of which are works of the end of the fifth century. The severity of the expression reminds us of some of the Olympian sculptures. There is much in style to remind us of the Nike of Paeonios, who was from Mende in Thrace. The hypothesis of Brunn, made years ago, concerning the northern influence at Olympia has been strengthened by the work of Schrader. Apparently this statue gives further confirmation. We have seemingly a work of Ionian tradition, created on the model of a statue by Paeonios or by one of his pupils and coming from the fifth century.

DELPHI.—**Notes on Some of the Sculpture.**—VAN ESSEN devotes some pages of *B.C.H.* lii (1928), pp. 231-244 (pls. X, XI; 2 figs.) to discussing two groups of sculpture found at Delphi. First taking up the monument of Paulus Aemilius, he reconstructs the frieze, and discusses at some length its place in the history of art. The conclusion is reached that the artist of these reliefs has no connection or affiliation with Greek art, but that we must look to Etruria and Italy for his inspiration and tradition, and that it is probably the earliest instance of purely Latin sculpture in Greece. The second part of the article is devoted to the altar in the Marmaria, to which Homolle gave a date in the fourth century B.C., but which the writer, for reasons set forth at some length, places much later, in the middle of the first century B.C.

Myron's Discobolus.—J. JUETHNER (*Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* xxiv (1929), col. 123-161) writes an illustrated article on the problem of the proper restoration and interpretation of the Discobolus. He uses illustrations from gems, the figure from the Leyden Panathenaic amphora, and especially a series of twelve instantaneous photographs of a modern discus thrower *in motu* to prove his theory of movements.

Terracotta Athenas.—In *R. Arch.* xxix (1929), pp. 281-290 (pl.; 3 figs.), W. DEONNA discusses two terracotta Athenas with an owl as headdress, in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève, a lamp with a bust of Athena, similarly adorned in the Berlin Museum, and a bronze statuette of Athena, of Roman times, also with an owl on her head, found in 1916 at Avenches, Switzerland. Insisting that this bronze has nothing of the mediocrity of the provincial bronzes, Deonna believes that the disposition of the drapery, the features of the goddess, the treatment of the hair, all recall the style of Pheidias, and that the prototype must be an Athena created at Athens in the second half of the fifth century B.C. A passage in Aristophanes seems to confirm this supposition. In the *Knights*, which appeared in 424 B.C. Cleon and the Sausage-seller, in order to win the favor of the aged Demos invoke oracles and dreams and these seem inspired by contemporary works of art: "I too," says the Sausage-seller, "have seen one, by Zeus; the goddess herself with an owl on her head seemed to be coming down from the Acropolis; she emptied a jar of ambrosia on your head (addressing the old man) and some pickled garlic on his (Cleon's) head." The author notes that such animal decoration of helmet or headdress was common to the school of Pheidias: so in the case of the Athena of Elis by Colotes (a cock) and in that of the Athena Albani (a dog's muzzle) by

a pupil of Pheidias and especially on the helmet of the Athena Parthenos with its griffin and horses. Other strange headdresses (*e.g.*, in the shape of altars) are discussed in the second half of the article, as well as certain other terracotta objects of cult, which were used perhaps in masquerade processions.

Two Reliefs in the Ashmolean Museum.—Two marble reliefs recently acquired by the Museum in Oxford show variants on the ordinary type of nymph-relief of three draped female figures in a grotto. One of these reliefs has a skilfully foreshortened group of Pan and three nymphs dancing in a circle around a stone or altar,—a very lively and humorous composition perhaps originating in the first half of the fourth century B.C., though this version, with its high and low relief and complicated rhythm, is two or three centuries later. Pan has equine hoofs and a Silene face, and all the draperies are archaic. The second relief, also in pseudo-archaic style and rather large for a votive, has a row of three stock-pattern female figures each holding up a flower, and when complete it was framed by plinth, pilasters, and architrave. The interest of the piece and the ascription to the Nymphs, are due solely to the inscription on the plinth, which names four officials of a Rhodian *πάτρα* or family group, perhaps from Caphirus, as dedicators. C. A. HUTTON, *J.H.S.* xlii (1929), pt. ii, pp. 240–245; pl.; 2 figs.

A Hellenistic Choir of Muses.—Nine statues of muses, known from replicas found in various parts of the Roman Empire, six replicas of the Antonine period having been found with an Apollo Citharoedus at Miletus in 1903 and 1905 and the others being supplied either from statuary copies or from reliefs, form a homogeneous group, as is evidenced by the similarity in the forms of face and figure and in the treatment of drapery. The originals are to be assigned to the period soon after 150 B.C., and possibly, as suggested by Amelung, to Philiscus of Rhodes. The historical importance of the group lies in the fact that, in its contrast to the baroque style of Pergamon, it represents the tendency which developed into the classicism of the Augustan Age. J. A. NEUGEBAUER, at the meeting of Berlin Arch. Soc., June 28, 1927. *Arch. Anz.* 1927, pt. 3/4, cols. 417–420; 2 figs.

VASES

Attic Black-Figured Fragments from Naucratis.—About seventy small fragments of early Attic black-figure ware from Naucratis, with one or two additional, are catalogued, illustrated, and discussed in some detail by J. D. BEAZLEY and H. G. G. PAYNE, in *J.H.S.* xlii (1929), pt. ii (pp. 254–272; 3 pls.). Chronologically arranged, they extend from the end of the seventh century into the last quarter of the sixth century, and include a number of signatures of well-known artists of this period.

A Fragment of an Homeric Vase.—Some discussions of the scenes and inscriptions on a vase-fragment in Athens, first published by Robert, is given by E. PERNICE in *Arch. Anz.* 1927, pt. 3/4 (cols. 244–247; fig.). The picture, which shows a ram being dragged violently to the left and a woman in long, girdled chiton fleeing as violently to the right, has been interpreted as belonging to the story of the madness of Ajax. Of the inscriptions, *φέρετες σάξοντα* and *δαυδούσιν οὐτηγησις* can be conjectured.

Greek Whip Tops.—Two very unusual fifth-century Attic vases in the British Museum (D 9 and 10) are bee-hive-shaped and the surface is formed of alternate horizontal channels and ridges painted red, black, and white. A similar vase in Brussels has, painted on the inside, the figure of a girl whipping a spinning top, which gives the clue to the meaning of all three vases. Such tops for actual use, a few of which have been found, would be solid, and these hollow ones, like many

articles of funeral furniture, are symbolic. Top-whipping seems to have been practised by boys only when quite young, but by girls when older. C. HARCOURT-SMITH, *J.H.S.* xlix (1929), pt. ii, pp. 217-219; 2 figs.

The Pamboeotian Festival.—A series of some twenty Boeotian black-figure vases, most of which have not previously been grouped together, is discussed by A. D. URE in *J.H.S.* xlix (1929), pt. ii (pp. 160-171; 5 pls.; 5 figs.). The shapes are lecane, scyphus, lecythus, etc., and the decoration is in friezes or groups of animals, birds, especially water-birds, and men, in a rough local style imitating Geometric, Corinthian and proto-Corinthian models. As the scenes with human figures are chiefly contests with prize tripods, or processions of victors carrying wreaths, or festivities around a crater of wine, all with musicians, they seem to be inspired by some definite religious festival. The finest of the vases, a large lecane in the British Museum (B 80), shows a bull being led for sacrifice toward an altar behind which stands an armed Athena, while a goat seems destined for another divinity represented as a huge snake on a stand. This has been interpreted as a Panathenaic scene, but it more probably represents the ceremony at the annual gathering of the Boeotian League at the shrine of Athena Itonia, near Coronea, an event by which legal documents were dated in Boeotia. This Athena was a warrior goddess, named from Thessalian Itonia, the old home of her votaries, and in her new home she shared the local worship with an earlier chthonic divinity, Zeus or Hades, here shown in the image of a snake, like the Zeus Meilichius of the neighboring Orchomenos. On the altar in front of Athena is a crow, apparently as the emblem of Coronea. A marshal of the procession, a company of country folk in a mule cart, and other elements give a realistic air to the whole scene.

INSCRIPTIONS

Agonistic Inscriptions.—In *R. Arch.* xxx (1929), pp. 24-42, LOUIS ROBERT discusses a series of agonistic inscriptions of imperial times in which the Greek word *πυκτεῖν* is found. These he thinks cast light on a Gortyn inscription first published by S. Ricci, *Mon. Ant.*, II (1893), 301, n. 8, and to be dated not earlier than the third century A.D. The athlete here records his contests as *πυκτεῖων* in various places, and as either simply conquering (*νεκῶν*) or as conquering gloriously (*λαμπρῶς*). In Ephesus he speaks of himself as *σχολάζων* and in one of three contests at Gortyn as *στραστάζων*, terms which Ricci thought meant that in the one case the pugilist refused to compete and that in the other the contest was a draw. Robert thinks these interpretations wrong and also insists that *πυκτεῖν* refers to gladiatorial and not boxing contests. In support of this he notes that only one pair of competitors is mentioned in the various places and that those conquered were slaves, not free men. That *πυκτεῖν* and *πυγμή* were generic terms for gladiatorial contests he shows in a number of inscriptions: *Illyras* is referred to as a *βρτάρις πύτρε πυκτέων*, and on the grave stele of a *secutor* and again of a *myrmillo* a similar expression is used; *ΣΤΑΣ*, he agrees, does indicate a "draw," but he regards it as a participle of *Ιστημι*, "fighting to a stand" (Latin, *stans*); *σχολάζειν* he thinks means to *conduct a gladiatorial school*. Several of the inscriptions quoted indicate the vogue of such gladiatorial shows in Asia Minor and Crete. Robert ends his article with a number of inscriptions in which *πυκτεῖν* has been wrongly interpreted.

Epigraphical Studies.—LOUIS ROBERT contributes to *B.C.H.* lii (1928), pp. 407-425, the first of a projected series of articles on inscriptions. This article is divided into ten parts. The first part deals with three inscriptions from Pisidia; the second discards the emendation *Βουδόχος*, on an inscription from Nicaea, changing it to

Βουλογράφος; the third discusses an inscription from Bithynia, substituting οἰκονόμοι for the otherwise unknown λογχονόμοι; the fourth takes up a statue base from Skepsis in the Troad, where the writer believes that the former reading σ]ν[μ]ποσιάρολην, should be [ε]βωνιάροχην; the fifth eliminates the supposed office of Ηγήτωρ τῶν ἱγγαλων, substituting for the first word the word κτήτωρ; the sixth changes the reading of an inscription from Sparta; the seventh does the same with an inscription from Aizanoi; the eighth gives a new reading to an athletic inscription from Miletus; the ninth deals with an honorary inscription of late date from Delphi and discusses the office of ἀρχιγραμματεύς, in the second century of our era, as it applied to different associations of athletes and musicians; while the tenth part is devoted to a Roman Imperial inscription carved on the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, discussing the word ἵτχυροναικτης, which it is suggested was applied to a professional "strong man" who lifted heavy weights, and supported a pyramid of men on his back, as is seen in the circus today.

Notes on Hellenistic Epigraphy.—LOUIS ROBERT continues his studies of Hellenistic inscriptions in *B.C.H.* iii (1928), pp. 426-443. The inscriptions under investigation (numbered XXIX-XXXIII) are: (1) from Thouria in Messenia of the second or first century B.C., regarding the purchase and sale of wheat by the State, which is discussed at some length, and numerous emendations of previous readings suggested; (2) a list of victors found at the Amphiareion of Oropos; (3) an inscription from Cyzicus regarding the sale of priesthoods; (4) a document from Pergamon of the end of the period of the kingdom, which the writer considers of great importance; and (5) a stone from Astypalaea, copying a decree regarding judges on that island.

PRIENE.—**An Inscription.**—S. LAMBRINO publishes in *B.C.H.* iii (1928), pp. 399-406 (2 figs.) an inscription discovered by the late O. Rayet, which he had never been able to publish, and which was found among his papers by the late B. Haussoullier, who entrusted it to the present writer. This inscription was found at Priene in 1874, and Rayet made a copy and squeeze of it at that time. Since then part of the inscription has been lost: only two fragments exist at present, which were published by Judeich in 1891. Owing to the fragmentary condition of the stone, it was classed by Hiller von Gärtringen (*Inschriften von Priene*, No. 288) as funeral. It is now possible, with the aid of the copy and squeeze of Rayet, to complete this inscription, and the writer gives text, translation, and commentary. This stone was a dedication in elegiacs erected to a certain Aischylinos by his father Aiantides and his sister Bittaré, probably the base of a statue, and was in the sacred precinct of the temple of Athena. Such dedications do not as a rule date earlier than the fourth century B.C. This inscription is probably to be put in the last quarter of that century. The father is identified with a magistrate who struck coins around 300 B.C., and the son seems to have been an official of the cult of Athena.

THASOS.—**Notes.**—HENRI SEYRIG contributes a few notes on inscriptions from that island in *B.C.H.* iii (1928), pp. 388-394 (1 fig.). The first inscription dates from the reign of Caracalla, and was found in 1920 near the triumphal arch of that emperor. It is in honor of a Thasian procurator, who after his retirement was honored by his native city as archpriest in charge of gladiatorial combats, which were held in the theatre at Thasos. In connection with this inscription the writer publishes another from Thasos found in 1913, the epitaph of one Ajax, a local gladiator of some renown, who had spared many of his adversaries in the arena. In the same year, 1913, a fragmentary list of gladiators was found.

The second part of the article is devoted to the publication of the tesserae of a Thasian judge, found by a peasant, who in cultivating his land happened to

come upon a tomb. This is a small sheet of bronze with perforated letters. By its close analogy with similar objects found at Athens, it too must be the tessera of a judge, Sosion the son of Polyphantos. This is the first of these objects to be found outside of Athens. On the death of the holder this badge of office was buried with him.

ITALY

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Black Stone, Symbol of Cybele.—In *R. Arch.* xxx (1929), pp. 46-57, A. AUDIN, in an article entitled *Le Palladium de Rome*, shows that the Black Stone, representing Cybele, which was received from Pergamum amid loud acclaim at the beginning of April, 204 B.C., by Quinta Claudia, the most venerable of the matrons, and P. Scipio Nasica, was regarded by the Romans as a second Palladium, which was to replace the ancient statue which Cassandra had prophesied would protect them for only a millennium. It was placed temporarily in the temple of Victory above the Forum until there should be constructed on the Cermalus Hill, near the Lupercal, a special temple of Cybele. Audin regards the Sibyl of Cumæ, who was reported to have been born on Mount Ida, as a spiritual daughter of Cassandra. Under the form of Carmenta she is associated with the Cermalus Hill, where the twins Romulus and Remus floated ashore. Because of the belief that Attalus and Pergamum had succeeded Priam and Troy, it was natural that the new protectress should be sought in the person of Cybele, the *Magna Mater* of Mt. Ida. Pais has shown that Acca Larentia, Ilia, Rhea Silvia, and Fauna are one person, hypostases of Rhea, the goddess mother, and that Faunus, Fatuus, Fatidius, and perhaps Faustulus, as oracular deities, were akin to Apollo. Even in historical times Augustus founded on the Cermalus Hill a sanctuary of Vesta and Apollo where the Vestals maintained a *Sacellum Caciae*, which must have been near the *Scala Caci*. This was perhaps the old temple of Vesta, where the priestesses received the Palladium of Troy. In the rituals, too, was striking parallelism, as the marriage of Cybele with Attis was symbolized in the rite of *lauatio*, which took place on the 27th of March, so, according to the legend, was Rhea Silvia cast into the Tiber, as a hierogamy of the goddess with the river-god.

Terracotta Altars.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* xlvi, 1-5 (1929), pp. 43-76, P. WUILLEMIER has made a thorough and convincing study of a series of small terracotta altars which seem to have been made at Tarentum. This city was evidently an important centre of ceramic manufacture and export during the Hellenistic Age.

Cameo Representing Augustus.—In *R. Arch.* xxx (1929), pp. 64-69 (fig.), M. MAXIMOWA describes a cameo, commemorative of the battle of Actium, which is now in the Hermitage Museum. The gem is nearly square, but with rounded corners, and is cut from a two-layer sardonyx, pierced from left to right, so as to be used as a buckle or ornament. The centre is occupied by a capricorn, above which is a head, to the left of which is a hand grasping an *aplustre* and below the trident, a dolphin. At the centre, below, is an object which may be an altar or a tripod crowned with flames. Above are distinguished the letters OCT-CÆS- AVG., *Octavianus Caesar Augustus*; at the sides TER-MARQ., *terra marique*; below VOT-PVB., *vota publica*. The head is certainly that of Augustus himself, for the emblems represented are often associated with him, the capricorn denoting the month of his birth, the globe, the *orbis terrarum*, and the caduceus, the wealth of his empire; the trident, dolphin and *aplustre* indicate a naval victory; the words *vota publica* denote prayers decreed by the Senate for the emperor's preservation, which, as we learn from other sources, were offered in the years B.C. 28, 24, 20, 16,

etc. Octavius was first called *Augustus* by the decree of the senate in 27 B.C., and this gives us, therefore, a *terminus post quem*. Maximowa believes the cameo was made shortly after the battle—a youthful Augustus is represented—and while the memory of the victory was fresh. Its restrained symbolism, according to our author, suits this earlier date. A number of other cameos celebrating the victory at Actium exist in various collections of coins and gems.

The Dove-Mosaic of the Capitoline Museum.—In the famous mosaic of the doves, from Hadrian's Villa, the silver bowl on which the birds are perched has been paid comparatively little attention, but if it is carefully studied, traces of a figure in relief under the handle at the left of the picture can be made out as representing a winged Eros, with upraised arms, his back against the surface of the bowl and his length reaching from the lower to the upper rim. Doubtless he was balanced by another Eros on the other side of the real or imaginary vase that is here pictured. Some lack of clearness in the mosaic representation is probably due to the workman who made the copy, rather than to Sosus who made the Pergamene original. E. PERNICE, *Arch. Anz.* 1927, pt. 3/4, cols. 247–250; 2 pls.

The Etruscans in the Aeneid.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* xlvi, 1/5 (1929), pp. 115–144, J. GAGÉ writes about the above subject. He believes that Vergil shows a considerable archaeological knowledge of the Etruscans. Vergil develops in his legendary recital certain characteristics due to actual and often late events. The poet, doubtless influenced by the policy of Augustus and Maecenas, gives the Etruscans a greater and more favorable part in the history of Rome than the historians assign to them. Gagé has especially investigated Vergil's attitude toward Etruscan chronology, cities, leaders, customs, and relations with Rome, and his findings will be of use for a better understanding of Vergil and his art.

Hellenistic Influence in the Roman Triumph.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* xlvi, 1/5 (1929), pp. 77–95, A. BRUHL contributes significantly to the interesting subject of emperor worship. His thesis is that through the triumph the Oriental conception of sovereignty entered Rome, and he shows most convincingly how the triumph finally was reserved for the emperor, who had become divine.

Rock Carvings.—The rock carvings depicting oxen, ploughs, etc., on the slopes of Monte Bego in the Maritime Alps are discussed and pictorially illustrated by M. C. BURKITT (*Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 155–164), and assigned to dates prior to 300 A.D.

SCULPTURE

Acroteria at Locri Epizephyrii.—With two marble statues in Naples, of nude young men on horses supported by tritons, which come from the temple of Marasà at Gerace (Locri) in Calabria, and which since 1890 have been called the Dioscuri, an unidentified torso in the local museum representing a nereid must be associated as the middle figure of a central acroterial group. The marks on her drapery, of the fore-hoofs of the springing horses indicate the relative positions of the figures. The youths, however, represent not the Dioscuri, but in a general sense, souls being conveyed to the other world. Incidentally, a woman's arm, which has been assigned to one of the tritons, belongs to the nereid. The group, thus restored, measures about 3 meters in length and 1.50 meters in height, to be placed over a façade 19 meters long. It is to be dated at about 440 B.C. and ranks with the great marble acroterial groups of Epidaurus, Delphi, and Delos. Its composition and semicircular outline suggest a derivation from terracotta antefixes or acroteria, and indeed, remains of such an acroterial group in terracotta, in which the youths on horses are supported by sphinxes instead of tritons, have been found a few miles from the Marasà temple. How closely the artists of the terracotta and the

marble figures clung to their models in painting is seen in the dowel holes, by which some small objects were attached as space-filler behind the backs of the riders. S. FERRI, at the June 28 (1927) meeting of the Berlin Arch. Soc. *Arch. Anz.* 1927, pt. 3/4, cols. 410-415; 2 figs.

The Etruscan Satyr and Maenad.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* xlvi, 1/5 (1929), pp. 96-114, J. HEURGON argues that the Etruscans detached from Dionysiac scenes the group of the satyr bearing a maenad and represented the two figures as reconciled. The type occurs in antefixes which Heurgon separates into the archaic type of Falerii, which is somewhat monotonous and which represents the satyr with horses' hoofs, and the later type of Satricium (a development of the earlier Falerian type), where there is increased movement and variety, and where the satyr has received human feet. Incidentally Heurgon suggests that the gesture of the Maenad in a bronze group now in the Metropolitan Museum is one of prayer, not an attempt to ward off the satyr's advances.

Gallic Arms on Etruscan Monuments.—In *R. Arch.* xxix (1929), pp. 235-280 (46 figs.), PAUL COUISSIN discusses Gallic arms as represented on Etruscan monuments (being a continuation of an article in *R. Arch.* 1927, I, p. 138 and 301; II, p. 43 entitled, *les Armes Gauloises figurées sur les monuments Grecs, Étrusques et Romains*). There are fewer of these representations than on Greek or Roman monuments, for the Etruscans left no trophies or friezes of armed men. What we do find, however, casts considerable light on Cisalpine Gallic arms and armor. The author tries to solve the question as to whether the Etruscan Celtomachies represent wars in Italy or are borrowed from the Galatian battles in Greece and Asia Minor, and in particular from the Pergamene sculptures. The monuments discussed are stelae, crateres, urns, and sarcophagi. The Gallic contestant is often naked but armed with cuirass and is usually mounted. The Gaul is frequently of huge stature and seems sometimes to have adopted the equipment of his more civilized opponent, with rectangular, oval, or round shield, though it should be stated that other opponents than Gauls may here be pictured, such as Venetians or other Etruscans. The early date of many of these, as evidenced by style and other considerations (fourth century B.C.) seems to preclude the influence of Greek Celomachies. If, as is not improbable, they were produced under Greek inspiration, this may have occurred through a transfer of earlier contests (even as early as the fifth century) to their own wars with the Gauls. Of the Gauls of the Pergamene frieze one finds little or nothing in the Etruscan art of the urns and sarcophagi; elephants and naval battles are unknown, or even contests between cavalry. Of the sack of Delphi some traces are seen, but Couissin insists that the artist always thoroughly Etruscize the details. There was no servile and unintelligent copying, as Bienkowski thinks, but a real adaptation to their own wars with the Gauls, of scenes that they may have found depicted on imported pottery. The last part of the article discusses in detail the forms of Gallic weapons of offense and defense, of chariots, insignia, and musical instruments.

BULGARIA

ODESSOS-VARNA.—The Great God.—This god, known usually as Μέγας Θεός, was the principal divinity of this place. His image appears on the coins of Odessos, and games were celebrated in his honor. His real name seems to have been Δαρζάλος, or Δαρζάλος, and he was derived from the principal male deity of the ancient Thracians. But side by side with this god, a Heros Manimazos was also worshipped at Odessos, as is proved by inscriptions. Inscriptions found at Samothrace and Odessos show that the gods of Odessos were worshipped on that

island and that the mysteries of Samothrace took root at the mainland town. Therefore the Great God of Odessos, so far from being exclusive, received the gods of Samothrace in perfect accord. A. SALAC, in *B.C.H.* lii (1928), pp. 395-398 (1 fig.).

Religious Sculpture.—Under the Title *Zum Kult des thrakischen Reiters in Bulgarien*, R. PITTONI (*Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* xxiv (1929), col. 129-144) illustrates this cult with thirteen photographs of fragments of reliefs.

GERMANY

La Tène Ceramics.—In *Mannus*, xx, 4b, pp. 421-424 (4 figs.), KURT BRAUNE describes two lumps of potter's clay, accidentally partly fired, representing the raw material used in ceramic industry of the La Tène period. One lump shows comb marks, such as are common on the finished products of this culture. The author thinks that the comb was used in testing the tenacity of the raw material during the process of kneading (rather a bold assumption). The second lump exhibits finger impressions. These finds, however, do not throw any light on the building technique of the La Tène potter at Wiederau.

Mesolithic Culture.—In *Mannus*, xx, 4b, pp. 384-408 (18 figs.), WALTHER ADRIAN presents an interesting contribution to the study of the Mesolithic period, based on material found in more than forty stations in northern Germany. Discussing the various typical forms, such as the plane, disk and core scrapers, core cleavers, scratchers, and projectile points, the author holds that it is as yet impossible to assign the different types to individual phases of the Transitional culture. The researches into the Mesolithic are still very young. The question of origin and diffusion remains unanswered. Yet, certain generalizations may be made. As Birkner shows (*Steinzeitliche Funde aus Litauen*. Munich, 1923) the eastern European Mesolithic complex seems to be the centre of the Tardenoisian culture, whence it spread into Syria, northern Africa, and western Europe, persisting from the end of the Palaeolithic to the beginning of the Neolithic period. At the same time certain local culture groups existed, though for a short time only, during the Epipalaeolithic, *i.e.* the Azilian phase. The Mesolithic period was represented by a hunting and fishing economy and filled the gap between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic Ages.

FRANCE

Bas-Relief of Nanto-Svelta (?).—In *R. Arch.* xxx (1929), pp. 14-18, G. DRIOUX discusses a bas-relief of Villiers-le-Sec, which he thinks affords another representation of Nanto-Svelta (?), a goddess of the Lingones, who is otherwise found represented once with the god Sucellus (*C.I.L.* XIII, 4542) and four times alone. In two of the earlier reliefs, on altars found at Sarrebourg, the goddess bears a staff surmounted by an *aediculum* which H. Hubert once interpreted as a bee-hive, but which, agreeing in this with Linckenheld, Drioux feels sure is a little house or hut. Among the Lingones, Aeduans, and Senones the goddess has a cornucopia as a special attribute, but among the Mediomatrices and in regions subject to their influence she bears the *aediculum* surmounting a staff. The relief which the author wishes to add to this series was first published in 1914 by Pierre Gautier in the *Annales de la Soc. d'hist. et d'arch. de Chaumont*. The goddess appears in low relief in an ogival-shaped niche, both figure and stone being badly weathered. Apart from the staff and hut in her right hand, she bears a dish in her left, which she holds in front of her; a snake-like object is on the ground at her left, with its body perhaps extending under her feet and dress. The hut is apparently spherical in

shape with a round opening, but the author states that the photograph does not truly represent the stone. If Drioux's conjecture be correct, the domain of the "goddess with the hut" would be extended southward into the territory of the Lingones.

SPAIN

Hill Forts.—W. J. HEMP (*Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 188-194) describes the mountain known as Mongó in the province of Alicante. He has found painted "Iberian" pottery, and the bastions of an Iberian fort copied from the fortresses of Greek colonists.

GREAT BRITAIN

Hill-figures.—Under the title *The Giant of Cerne and other Hill-figures*, O. G. S. CRAWFORD (*Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 277-282) discussing certain hill-figures carved on the chalk downs of southern England, adds to the list published by Flinders Petrie in *The Hill-figures of England*, the Giant on Shotover Hill near Oxford, and several modern figures. He takes issue with Petrie's assignment of the Cerne Giant to Neolithic or Bronze Age times and dates it as of the early Iron Age.

Pottery Ornamentation.—DOROTHY M. LIDDELL (*Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 283-291, with many ills.) discusses the rows of marks found on pottery at Windmill Hill, near Avebury, Wilts, and shows conclusively that they were made with the small bones of birds.

NORTHERN AFRICA

CARTHAGE.—T. R. S. BROUGHTON (*A.J.P.* I. 3 (1929), pp. 279-285) discusses the inscription of Phileros (*C.I.L.* X, 6104), in connection with the argument as to whether Carthage, like Cirta, was given extended territory after its refounding in 44 B.C. in accordance with the instructions of Julius Caesar. He concludes that the territory of Carthage extended beyond Thugga in 39 B.C. and that the city had at least 83 places over which it had tax control.

Holy Mountain of Nubia.—J. H. DUNBAR gives a historico-archaeological description (*Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 408-413) of Napata and its Geber Barkal, the Holy Mountain of the ancient Egyptian inscriptions.

Underworld-Divinities Visualized.—The dim, mysterious, and terrifying aspect of the gods and goddesses of the Lower World is represented in some busts of marble and limestone from the necropolis at Cyrene. The heads have the hair and a polos resting on it, but in place of the face, a perfectly plain, smooth surface, without features either painted or sculptured, or put on as a mask. Such divinities have heretofore been known only in literature. S. FERRI, *Arch. Anz.* 1927, pt. 3/4, col. 415; fig.

EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE AND MEDIAEVAL SYRIA AND PALESTINE

SELEUCIA.—In *Analecta Bollandiana*, xlvi, 3 and 4, pp. 241-286, P. PEETERS shows that an eleventh-century church, noted in Greek and Georgian manuscripts and incorrectly connected with the monastery of St. Simeon the Thaumaturgist, was an eleventh-century Georgian church connected with the monastery of St. Simeon Stylites the Younger of Mount Admirable at the mouth of the Orontes near the site of ancient Seleucia. In the stress of the wars of the second half of the eleventh century the church was deserted by its community.

TURKEY

The Frescoes of the Kachrije Djami.—In *Münch. Jb.* vi (1929), pp. 345-364 (21 figs.), M. ALPATOFF discusses the frescoes of the Kachrije Djami in Constantinople, a most important series for the appreciation of Byzantine painting. Presumably they were done near the same time as that from which the mosaics date, 1303; at least they must date in the early fourteenth century. While they seem backward in comparison with Italian painting of the same period, these frescoes, especially the portraits, remind one in some points of such lively work as the portraits of Frans Hals.

ITALY

Crown of Saint Stephen.—In *Archaeologai Értesítő*, xliii, pp. 125-133, OTTO VON FALKE discusses the date of the enamels of Christ and the Apostles on the Crown of St. Stephen and decides that the tradition is correct which states that the crown was sent by the Pope to St. Stephen at about the year 1000. He disagrees with Kondakov and others who attempt to place these enamels in the twelfth century. He finds that they were perhaps made in Milan, but that in all events they are closer in style to such works as the Uta codex (compare the hands of St. Peter and James and the hands of the Blessed Virgin in the codex). The figures are more rounded than in Byzantine work and the technique is of the tenth century rather than later. Finally the gables of the crown seem to be Byzantine and were perhaps made for the Geza crown.

HUNGARY

Origin of the Old German II Style.—In *Archaeologai Értesítő*, xliii, pp. 68-124, NANDOR FETTICH makes a careful study of several finds of the early Scythian and later Avar times in Hungary, and then compares them with corresponding remains in Russia and with the old German II style. He shows that the problem is not yet solved, for there is the interesting fact that a marked parallelism exists between the Scythian and Avar animal styles, but that there is such a long period between that we cannot consider the later works merely a case of development. On the other hand, the later Hungarian objects have their closest parallels to works which are of the same period, but from Siberia and very distant areas. He utilizes in this comparison also the cross-shaped pressed model from Fönlak, which again is very similar to certain Scythian remains. The problem of the reappearance of these patterns nearly a thousand years later is still unsolved, and the occurrence of them also in the old German II style. Similarly there is the same use of denticulation in both styles and in almost the same conditions.

Sources of the Hungarian Representations of St. George.—In *Archaeologai Értesítő*, xliii, pp. 134-155, JOLAN BALOGH discusses the various mediaeval representations of St. George as found in Hungary and shows that there is relatively little direct Byzantine influence in them, since most of the Byzantine models show a hieratic and quiet pose of the saint. The fresco of Jak from the second half of the thirteenth century is a north Gothic adaptation of the Italian form of the subject. Similarly local motifs occur in most of the reproductions, but the underlying Italian source can be distinguished. The outstanding work of this character is the Prague statue of St. George, the work of the Brothers Kolozsvári. The figure here has been shown to be under the influence of Simone Martini's Siennese-Avignon-Neapolitan art. The horse has a different pose, and this is rather an adaptation of the Hungarian type of horse sculpture. However, this statue, which belongs in

the development of the art of the Anjou period, is the only one of the St. George representations which rises into the sphere of great art.

GERMANY

Thirteenth-Century Illumination.—In *Münch. Jb.* vi (1929), pp. 302-344 (22 figs.), A. STANGE, in a long and thorough study, discusses the Saxon manuscript illumination in the thirteenth century. A problem particularly emphasized is the Byzantine influence in the Saxon development. This influence is not considered fundamental by the present author, though its importance is not denied.

The Tomb of Clemens at Bamberg.—In *Münch. Jb.* vi (1929), pp. 216-275 (17 figs.), A. F. VON REITZENSTEIN traces the history of the tomb of Pope Clemens II and reviews the criticisms that have thrown doubt on the originality of the reliefs that now decorate the tomb. Study of the style leads to the conclusion—not refuted by documentary evidence—that the reliefs date from the thirteenth century. Their author is probably to be identified with a sculptor who worked on the Princes' Door in the cathedral at Bamberg.

SWEDEN

Antiquities from Gotland in the British Museum.—The older Bronze Age and the Viking era are well represented by objects in the British Museum. A good treatise of these bronze remains is H. Hansson's *Gotlands Bronsälder* (Stockholm, 1927). In *Forvännen*, 1928, pp. 193-207, NILS LITHBERG considers the group of articles from the Viking Age. The perplexing question of the oldest history of Visby is somewhat illuminated by the finds from the necropolis at Kopparsvik, south of Visby, where two graves were examined by experts in 1918. The collection in the British Museum, which was derived from at least five graves, enables a person to form a clear idea of these later discoveries, which apparently belong to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. All the graves contained females belonging to the highest social level. The husbands of these women had made voyages to foreign lands. The conclusion is that these graves, therefore, were those of wealthy merchant families.

GREAT BRITAIN

Dykes.—In *Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 135-154, CYRIL FOX describes with many figures, among linear earthworks, those in Cambridgeshire and Offa's Dykes in Shropshire.

RENAISSANCE

ITALY

Fifteenth-Century Italian Majolica.—In *Faenza*, xvii (1929), pp. 86-102 (11 pls.), G. BALLARDINI discusses the style of the Italian majolica of the second half of the fifteenth century. While that of the first half of the century is elegant and reserved in style, based on models to be found in Italian and German engravings, that of the second half of the century is free and imaginative, and can hardly be put in any category of style. The designers worked rapidly and broadly, and were thoroughly sincere in expression. They were almost modern in the impressionistic character of their work.

Italian Ceramics in German Museums.—In *Faenza*, xvii (1929), pp. 71-85 (2 pls.), M. SAUERLANDT writes of the Italian ceramics to be found in German museums, dividing the examples into two classes. In the first class is Italian majolica

with German coats of arms. In the second class are the examples with which Germany's connection is not merely passive, but active. It is the Italian majolica the decoration of which derives from models engraved in copper or carved in wood by German artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Masaccio's Early Work.—In *Zeit. Bild. K.* lxiii (1929), pp. 156-165 (9 figs.), H. BEENKEN discusses the panel of the Madonna from the church of S. Maria in Novoli and the panel of St. Julianus in the Badia at Settimo. A few years ago these were recognized as fragments of the altarpiece which Vasari says was painted by Masaccio for S. Maria Maggiore, but Vasari's attribution was discredited on stylistic grounds and the panels were given to Masolino. The present writer points out that the fundamental characteristics of the work are to be found in the authentic productions of Masaccio and assigns the panels to the earliest activity of that master. A horizontal panel in the Musée Ingres at Montauban, depicting a scene from the legend of St. Julianus, may be from the predella of the S. Maria Maggiore altarpiece; it is attributed to the workshop of Masaccio.

Miniature from a Fifteenth-Century Missal.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, xlivi, pp. 265-266, PÁL LUKCSICS describes a miniature from an Italian missal of the fifteenth century, which was in the archives of Count Zichy, and belonged either to Stefan, Cardinal of Kalocs (fifteenth century) or to Stefan, Bishop of Siebenbürgen (beginning of the sixteenth century).

Pictures in the Possession of Franz Várday.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, xlivi, pp. 269-270, PÁL LUKCSICS discusses the pictures owned by Franz Várday, Bishop of Siebenbürgen. The Florentine dealer Antoni Bini had sold many of these to Johannes Mezerický, who gave them to the Bishop. An inventory of the Bishop's house shows that most of the articles were of Italian workmanship.

A Statuette by Andrea Riccio.—In *Zeit. Bild. K.* lxiii (1929), pp. 168-172 (3 figs.), L. PLANISIG publishes a hitherto unknown bronze statuette, now in the art market, by Riccio. The most suitable title for the charming work is Pan. In the right hand, now broken away, we should probably imagine a flute. This is one of those unique examples from the hand of Riccio himself, not a work inspired by one of the master's models and extant in a number of replicas and variations. The most probable dating is the second decade of the cinquecento.

AUSTRIA

The Meistersingersaal in Schwaz.—In 1513 Hans Sachs, wandering through Tirol, visited Schwaz. It is only a few years after this date that the decorations of the Meistersinger Hall in the Court House at Schwaz, discussed by J. GARBER in *Münch. Jb.* vi (1929), pp. 289-301 (12 figs.), must have been painted. The work is still in a good state of preservation in spite of the fact that it is done in tempera. It was clearly inspired by the illustrations in wood-cuts that were done by Eduard Schön and Georg Pencz for three of Hans Sachs' poems. The painter was evidently one of the so-called German Little Masters, in the *milieu* of Beham or G. Pencz.

HUNGARY

The Calvary Rotunda in Budapest.—In *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, xlivi, pp. 202-222, ELEMÉR REH has connected this monument with Johann Lucas v. Hildebrand, and rightly. However, he cannot have been the actual artist, for the records of the city show that because of the difficulties attending the settlement of the estate of Anna Maria Schwarz, it was impossible to commence work before 1746. The monument was finished in 1749 and consecrated in 1759. The author assumes that the work was done on the plans of Hildebrand by some one of his school, and

he names the Salzburg architect Andreas Mayerhoffer, who became a citizen of Pest in 1724 and who completed the plans of Hildebrand for the castle of Ráckeve.

Dürer and Hungary.—In *Archaeologai Értesítő*, xlivi, pp. 266-269, MAGDA OBERSCHALL shows that Dürer worked on but three altarpieces in Hungary and that, therefore, his influence was exercised in that country through the means of his prints rather than by his other works.

Hungarian Wrought-Iron Work.—In *Archaeologai Értesítő*, xlivi, pp. 223-237, MAGDA OBERSCHALL discusses iron gates of the district house in Eger. These were constructed in 1755-1756 and show the influence of the iron workers of Poszony (Bratislava) and also of the Rococo movement of southern Germany.

Leonardo's Representations of Riders.—In *Archaeologai Értesítő*, xlivi, pp. 182-192, WILHELM SUIDA illustrates some sketches made by Leonardo which show a rider on a rearing horse, and comments on the influence which the master has had. He shows that these were probably made in the period before 1500 in Milan, and the types which he set were copied often by unpracticed hands for a long while. Thus the Budapest horse from the Ferencsy collection was probably retouched by some one and cast after the death of Leonardo. Its defects are so evident that we must regard it as the finishing of one of his preliminary and rejected sketches.

The Master of the Martyrdom of the Apostles.—In *Archaeologai Értesítő*, xlivi, pp. 156-181, ISTVÁN GENTHON considers several paintings in Hungary and adjacent countries and comes to the following conclusions:

Four paintings in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts (The Entrance of Jerusalem, the Last Supper, the Arrest of Christ, and the Mocking of Christ) are under the influence of the Viennese School and date 1400-1420. They belong, however, in Hungarian art and are probably the work of an unknown Western Hungarian painter.

Six paintings in the Kassa (Kosice) Museum, dealing with sacred subjects, which have been ascribed to Hungarian art by Hugo Kenczler (the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Presentation, the Birth of the Virgin, the Entrance of the Virgin into the Temple, and the Holy Family) belong rather to the Brixen school and are perhaps the work of Jacob Sunter (Suntner?).

Nine martyrdoms of the Apostles form one series, and to this the author adds a martyrdom of St. Andrew now in private possession in Budapest. The author of these is a significant artist and the teacher of the painter of the Braunau bakers' altar.

Finally the author identifies on the basis of the signature I.v.M., 1476, the Birth of Christ in the Liechtenstein Gallery in Vienna as the work of Jenusch von Miko.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Two Panel Pictures of the Fifteenth Century in the Bratislava Church of St. Mary on the Tiefenweg.—In *Archaeologai Értesítő*, xlivi (1928), pp. 155-158, GISELA WEYDE discusses the subject of two paintings on wood at the above mentioned place, representing the martyrdom of St. Philip and one of St. Matthew. The two are from a series representing the deaths of all the Apostles. Two panels are in Frankfurt and five in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest. The same artist made a painting of a female saint now in the Rudolfinum, Prague.

Ottó Benesch discusses these pictures which are frankly Austrian and done by an artist who reworked the style of Wohlgemut. Among other works of the same painter is the *Ecce Homo* in Vienna and the epitaph of Florian Winkler in the Museum at Wiener Neustadt.

THE NETHERLANDS

Religious Satire in Dutch Paintings.—In *Archaeologai Értesítő*, xlivi, pp. 193-201, ANDOR PIGLOR shows the picture of Hieronymus Bosch of Peter and Merica intended as a satire of the clergy, and connects with this some pictures of Maerten van Cleves. Thus, one which has been taken for a scene of drunkenness is probably a satire. At any rate it was so understood in a copper print by J. C. K. (Johann Conrad Klupfel), which shows the same pose of the figures, but is clearly satirical and has a vulgar poem added to make sure of the effect. After Maerten van Cleves religious satire tends to disappear from Dutch painting.

INDIA

ASSAM.—J. H. HUTTON (*Antiquity*, iii (1929), pp. 324-338) illustrates many sculptural monoliths, none pre-dating the Iron Age, and comments on their mortuary, phallic, and fertility associations with not dissimilar monuments of Europe.

NEWS ITEMS FROM ATHENS

A series of Open Meetings were held at the French School during the winter months, two of which, in addition to the report of the excavations of the School presented by M. Roussel in January and mentioned in the last News Items, dealt with classical subjects. On February 5 M. Flacelière spoke on the Delphic Amphictyony as the League of Nations of Ancient Greece, tracing its history from its foundation down to Roman times and showing that it served also as an International Court of Justice. M. Flacelière pointed out that the meetings were held on the rocky eminence which separates the modern village from the Sanctuary of Apollo and where the peasants now have their threshing floors and the chapel of St. Elias with its cemetery. On March 26 M. Roussel, the Director of the School, gave a summary of his recent studies on the Eleusinian Mysteries. M. Roussel finds far from satisfactory the usual explanations that the essential elements were borrowed from Egypt or influenced by the Dionysiac cult or derived from Minoan religion. He is inclined to believe that the rites were first used by a sort of secret society like the *Molpoi* of Miletus, and that later when Athens extended its control over Eleusis, it organized and regulated the Mysteries until they became more of a national religion where the rites no longer dealt only with the spiritual welfare of individuals and their personal immortality but the Athenian State was directly interested for political reasons. An Open Meeting was held at the British School on March 7, when Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury, recently appointed curator at Knossos, read a paper on "Egypt and the Aegean in the Late Bronze Age." Mr. Pendlebury has made a special study of Egyptian objects found in Crete and on the Greek mainland and at the same time has studied the traces of Cretan and Mycenaean civilization in Egypt. He has found that in the L. M. II period many Egyptian objects were imported into Crete and the ambassadors of Minos appear on the walls of the tombs of the contemporary Egyptian princes, whereas after the destruction of the Great Palace at Knossos, in the L. M. III period there have been found only two Egyptian objects in Crete and no L. M. III Minoan objects in Egypt nor any traces of the Keftiu on the Egyptian frescoes. In this period the direct connection between Egypt and the mainland of Greece became established and many sites have produced objects imported from Egypt while large quantities of L. H. III pottery have been found in Egypt. These friendly relations between Egypt and the peoples in Hellas lasted more than 150 years until 1232 B.C. when

Egypt was invaded not only by her neighbors the Libyans but also by the Achaeans and Lycians. This invasion was repulsed, but again in 1199 B.C. a second attempt was made, in the time of Agamemnon, thus ending the commercial relations between the two countries. On April 11 a second Open Meeting was held at the British School at which Sir Arthur Evans delivered a lecture on "New Evidence regarding Life beyond Death, and of the Worship of the Mother and Child in Minoan Religion." Sir Arthur had excellent pictures of Minoan and Mycenaean signet rings and gems with religious representations. He considers the butterflies and chrysallides which appear in the corners of these scenes as symbols of a future life and suggests that the recurrence of the Mother and Son motif on many of these rings should be compared to later representations of the Madonna and Child as showing a similar tendency in religious beliefs, although the Minoan Child is more mature than is usual in Christian representations. An Open Meeting will be held at the American School on April 15 when reports of the excavations at Corinth during 1929 and 1930 will be given. Among the recent finds there should be mentioned the very fine gold necklace and hoard of 51 gold staters of Alexander and Philip. The treasure was found in or near fragments of a jar under a water channel in a stoa north west of the Temple of Apollo. The necklace is of very fine Hellenistic work and the coins are in a good state of preservation. The Athenian newspapers heralded the "find" as the hidden treasure of one of the Corinthian *hetairai*.

The Greek Archaeological Society held their Annual Meeting on January 25 when the reports of the excavations sponsored by them in 1929 were made public. At Athens Mr. Kastriotis continued his researches in the Odeion of Pericles with the result that the wall which was first considered to be the south side of the Odeion was shown to be a remnant of the later Valerian or Justinian wall, thus correcting the conclusion drawn in 1928 about the rectangular shape of the Odeion as reconstructed by Arioarbazanes. It now appears probable that this king of Cappadocia did not diverge from the original plan which Pausanias specifically calls "square." Alongside this portion of the Valerian wall there is another section of the ancient aqueduct of the Enneakrounos running toward the west. The complete establishment of the plan of the Odeion is made difficult by the fact that the line of the western wall is not perfectly preserved and that up to the present time there is no trace of the south side of the building. This south wall and the southern end of the west side must be sought at a distance of 65 m. from its northern angle if the west wall has a length equal to that of the north side. There are consequently 38 m. more left to be excavated, in order to complete this length. Trial trenches in this southern region failed to bring definite results but they did show that the ancient remains on this side have suffered great destruction through the extensive building activities of later times. Modern houses must be expropriated in this quarter before further research can proceed.

In the Amphiareion at Oropos the Society's work was continued by Mr. B. Leonardos, Director of the Epigraphical Museum. On the left bank of the gulley running through the Sanctuary there was uncovered, in part, a building in two divisions, while on the right bank were uncovered the eastern intercolumniations of the colonnade of the winter hotel or guest house. To the south of the processional street, on a knoll about 5 m. high, a long building came to light within which were found moulds for lamps and skyphoi and many tops or covers for vases which seemed to indicate that the building was a potter's workshop. Mr. Leonardos also investigated other streets parallel or at right angles to the processional street, as well as a tunnel hewn in rock to carry off water, and a fair-sized reservoir 2.35 m. x 1.60 m. x 2 m., also cut in the rock.

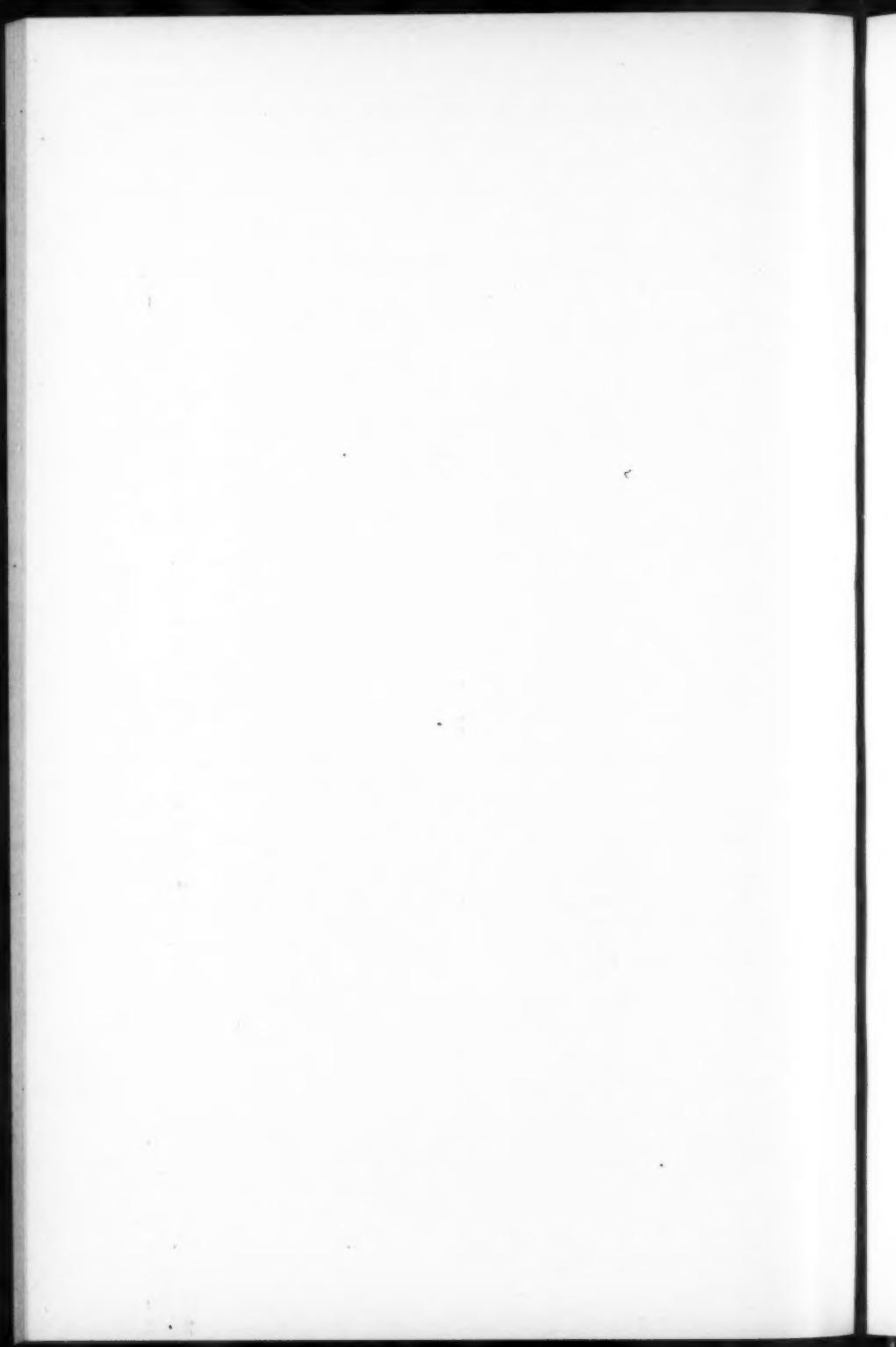
Excavations in the Palace of Kadmos at Thebes were continued by Professor

Keramopoulos of the University of Athens. The work of 1929 was directed chiefly toward the removal of the layer formed of a mixture of fragments of wall paintings and lime deposit beneath which had formerly been found pieces of beautiful frescoes. During this last season all the remaining pieces were gathered up; many of them showed parts of human figures wearing necklaces and bracelets. Furthermore, a great mass of broken pottery was recovered and two intact vases undecorated and without polish, coming from the "Potter's Workshop" in the Palace. This workshop had been enlarged by a reconstruction of the Palace which was carried out before the destruction of the Palace by fire. Some remains are also preserved belonging to the period before the reconstruction. Beneath a little wall of this early period were found sherds of Minyan ware and some sherds of good L. H. II pots. Apart from some other details of construction it was possible to ascertain the method of the re-enforcement of the wall by wooden beams. The beams formed part of the actual structure of the wall and were arranged according to a simple system whereby numerous small beams were placed through the thickness of the wall in four rows and were held together by long beams laid lengthwise of the wall at right angles to the others. The empty spaces in this framework were filled with stones and the general effect was that of a very early ancestor of the steel-frame wall construction of the present day.

The Council of the Archaeological Society decided to resume at Dodona the excavations begun in 1920 by Mr. Sotiriades, which in turn had continued the earlier excavations carried out in Turkish times by Constantine Carapanos which had produced the splendid collection of bronzes now in the National Museum. The excavations of 1929 were carried out by Mr. Demetrios Evangelides and were chiefly exploratory in character. The excavator investigated once more the Christian basilica under which Carapanos maintained the Temple of Zeus lay, but the excavations did not confirm this definitely, for the church, in part at least, was founded directly on the rock. However, as a result of Mr. Evangelides's excavations the plan and other details of the basilica were completely ascertained, thus enabling Mr. Orlando to make a complete restoration of it on paper. The church has three apses and the main basilica is divided into three aisles by two rows of seven columns each. There is also a narthex to the west which has its entrance on the south side. Of the apses, the east one contained the holy table, the north and south ones had in the centre one column on each side of which were large slabs and barriers. The sanctuary communicated with the main church in the customary way by means of a gate with barriers on either side. Two graves were found in the south apse and one in the south aisle. The church is of early Christian type similar to the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem but even more simple. The basilica is however connected with the ancient Greek Dodona since its material is in great part taken from an ancient structure—the antae, the parapets and the bases of the columns are Greek. On the south side of the basilica, in fact, an ancient structure, the foundations of which are preserved, extends beneath the church. A small part of these foundations had been excavated by Mr. Sotiriades. The building runs from north to south and is divided by a cross-wall into two compartments which are easily recognized as the pronaos and cella of an ancient temple. Its exterior walls were built in ashlar style and the courses of marble still show their building bosses. The cross-wall includes material of poros taken from some earlier building belonging probably to late Macedonian times and perhaps destroyed during the burning of the sanctuary by Dorimachos about 219 B.C. A column drum found inside the church, and a Doric capital, probably belonged to this building. A piece of a relief in poros representing Herakles also belongs to the Macedonian period. Mr. Evangelides found several small objects like those re-

covered in such abundance by Mr. Carapanos: a silver-plated bronze plaque has preserved on it the forepart of a lion with his right paw raised; in front of the lion is a rosette and to the left is part of another lion looking toward the right and heraldically opposed to the first lion. This group is similar to others found by Carapanos and is treated in the same archaic style. To the east and to the west of the small temple were found square exedrae, one of which can be entirely reconstituted. The failure to discover a large temple to Zeus such as one might expect in the famous Sanctuary of Dodona demands further search for such a building in other parts of the Sanctuary, but the question arises whether in the sixth and fifth centuries at least there may have been no temple in Dodona but only an altar surrounded by the famous tripods which Stephanos of Byzantium (*s. v.* Dodona) mentions quoting from Demon (Scholia on the Iliad of Homer, 16, 233): "The oracle of Zeus at Dodona is surrounded by a circle of cauldrons, these touch each other and when one is struck they all sound in turn so that the period of the sound extends through a long time." Stephanos changes Demon's word "oracle" without explanation to "temple" in his account but the more general word used by Demon perhaps agrees more accurately with the archaic period of the Dodonaian Sanctuary in which according to Hesiod the Pelasgian Zeus dwelt within the prophetic oak. That this ancient oracle stood near the Christian church may be concluded with great likelihood from the discovery by Mr. Carapanos of those splendid archaic ex-voto offerings within the church itself. After his exploration in the region of the basilica Mr. Evangelides explored cursorily a trapezoidal hypostyle building near the theatre and then cleared the area between this building and another lying to the east of it. In this region he encountered a deposit of various votive offerings and pieces of bronze utensils, among which are included some beautiful archaic objects—a little rooster and a gorgon head. Here likewise were found some inscribed objects: a silver ring inscribed with the name Antiochus, of a sixth to fifth century type, written in the western alphabet. Furthermore there were several lead plates similar to those found by Mr. Carapanos bearing questions to the oracle, on one of which a man asks about his wife. Another asks about Damatrio and Dionysio. On another plaque is preserved the name *Kλεοφάνακτος*, and still another mentions the name of a northern Epirote tribe *'Αιγαίαντες*. Professor Pelekides of the University of Saloniki in clearing a cave in the Langada region near Saloniki brought to light 8 marble sarcophagi of Roman times, decorated in relief with hunting scenes and combats of Amazons. In the sarcophagi were found gold coins of Constantine Paleologos and of Galenus, gold earrings, rings with inscribed and engraved gems in their settings, silver pins, and gold "danakai" destined to pay Charon's passage fees. Near Paliokastro of Karditsa Mr. Stavropoulos discovered a Roman cemetery which produced pottery and inscribed funerary stelae. Reports of the other Greek excavations will be sent in the next installment of News Items.

E. P. B.



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Julian H. Steward, Petroglyphs of California and Adjoining States. Berkeley, 1929, Univ. of California Pr. 262 pp.; pls. 4to. \$2.50.

BOOK REVIEWS

HISTOIRE ANCIENNE DE L'AFRIQUE DU NORD. Vols. V-VI: *Les Royaumes indigènes*, 1927. Vol. VII: *La République romaine et les rois indigènes*, 1928. By Stéphane Gsell. Librairie Hachette, Paris.

In the first volume of his monumental work, M. Gsell announced that he proposed to study the history of North Africa up to the time of the Arab conquest. Volumes I-IV dealt with *Les Conditions du développement historique*, *Les Temps primitifs*, *La Colonisation phénicienne et l'Empire de Carthage*; *L'Etat carthaginois*; (*L'*) *Histoire militaire des Carthaginois*; *La Civilisation carthaginoise*.

In Volumes V-VI, the author commences with a general introduction and then proceeds to an exposition and discussion of the life and civilization of the natives. He examines their social and political organization, their cattle-raising and agriculture, the construction and location of their dwellings, their food, clothing, arms, furniture, occupations, language, writing, and religion. Their religion and especially their funeral customs are dealt with in detail. The materials on which volumes V-VI are based are principally these: written records, the findings of archaeology, survivals. These materials are here neither full nor easy to interpret, but M. Gsell's reconstruction shows not only his comprehensive and accurate knowledge but also his penetration, firm grasp, and sober judgment. The picture he has painted is admittedly incomplete, but it is convincing, and, all things considered, surprisingly vivid.

Volume VII takes up matters which are better known. It is divided into two books: the first dealing with the Province of Africa under the Roman Republic, the second with Rome and the African kings. Among the many interesting things of which the first book treats, not the least interesting is the description (pp. 11-18) of the land-survey which Rome carried out in the Province of Africa. The second book falls into two very disparate sections: the fuller having to do with the Jugurthine War (Chs. I-IV), the other (Ch. V) setting forth what little is known or may be reasonably conjectured about affairs in North Africa during the period which intervened between Marius and Caesar. The first chapter of this book contains a particularly happy characterization of Sallust's account of the war with Jugurtha (pp. 132-133).

M. Gsell's *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* is fully documented, and each volume is provided with an index and a detailed analytical table of contents. The maps, however, are, unfortunately, too few and on too small a scale. There are none in Volumes V-VI. But this, after all, is a minor matter. M. Gsell's work should be a source both of inspiration and despair to less gifted scholars.

HOLMES V. M. DENNIS, 3D

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

UEBER STILLEBEN AUS POMPEII UND HERCULANEUM, by H. G. Beyen. Pp. 99, pls. XII. Haag, 1928.

This is the first book on still-life in ancient times although the subject is treated in Helbig. The author deals primarily with Pompeian still-life but the book is filled with discussions of Hellenistic and pre-Hellenistic still-life and with examples in Rome, Etruria and South Russia. Mr. Beyen has studied the subject thoroughly and knows the material over a much wider field than the title implies.

The author traces still-life painting from its origin in the Fourth Century through the various Pompeian styles. He states that there are no examples from

the Fourth Century, but tomb-paintings from Paestum show the genre already developed. (Fig. A, Tomb-Painting, Paestum.) During the period of the First style we find it only on Mosaics such as the Cat Mosaic or the Doves from the House of the Faun or from Hadrian's villa. In the Second style, still-life is used more as ornament. Most of his discussion under this style centers around the garland and mask still-life, because of the great number of extant examples. Although he mentions the connection of garlands and masks with Dionysos and notes their presence as decoration in the theatres at Athens, Pergamon and Ephesus, he dismisses this important evidence for the influence of theatre decoration on the Second style without giving it the emphasis which his carefully collected evidence seems to warrant. The various elements employed in garland still-life may all be related to Dionysos—the pine-cone, nebris, masks, flutes, even the cistae. All appear to offer important evidence for the connection of the Second Pompeian style with stage decoration. This is borne out by the Boscoreale frescoes and by those from the Villa Iteum.

The Fourth style is most important for independent still-life, with its representations of fruits, flowers, dead game and edibles of all kinds. The Xenion type was commonest. Mr. Beyen discusses at length the two-stepped receptacle in which the still-life is often placed and traces it back to pre-Hellenistic votive or sacred pictures. At times these receptacles may be tables, as an example from Naples indicates. (Fig. B, Fresco, Naples.) In fact, Mr. Beyen's Plate VII, 1, with a representation of some peaches and a glass vessel looks as if it were a table.

The discussion of color, of perspective, of the technical details and of dating in still-life of the Fourth style is most meticulously and excellently handled. He considers one specimen with peaches and a glass a Flavian restoration because of the colors employed and the impressionistic technique. The great variety in composition, in color and in technical details of our extant specimens is emphasized. The artists did not follow Hellenistic painters closely but drew from a great tradition and enriched it in the direction of ornament and impressionism.

Mr. Beyen is to be congratulated on a thoroughgoing and able piece of research. It is to be hoped that he will carry the subject further. The book is well printed and the plates are good.

MARY SWINDLER

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THE TWO CITIES: A CHRONICLE OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY TO THE YEAR 1146
A.D., by Otto, Bishop of Freising, translated by Charles Christopher Mierow.
Pp. xi+523. Columbia University Press. \$10.

The Series "edited under the auspices of the Department of History of Columbia University" known as *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies*, has done a distinctive service for historical research in issuing the volume here under review. Dr. Mierow, now President of Colorado College, by virtue of his studies in medieval Latin literature, is a peculiarly happy choice for the translator and commentator of Bishop Otto's great *Chronicle*.

The book is made up of Dr. Mierow's Introduction (pp. 1-79), a bibliography (pp. 81-84), the translation into English of the Latin text. (Dedication, general Prologue, eight books of history—each with a short prologue—and a satisfactory index (pp. 87-523).)

Otto of Freising, a Babenberg by birth, was a grandson of Emperor Henry IV of Germany, a nephew of Henry V, half-brother to Conrad III of Hohenstaufen, and maternal uncle of Friederich I, Barbarossa. It is not to be wondered at,

therefore, that his sixth and seventh chapters, which are of almost contemporary matters, have an especial value to historians. When one adds that his Chronicle, in the general consensus of opinion, is the earliest philosophical treatment of history, and that Hauck in 1913 wrote "this is the first presentation of universal history that possesses the unity of a work of art," there need be little more adduced to show that this translation, the first complete version of Otto of Freising's *History of the Two Cities* in any modern language, is a needed and welcome addition to historical source literature.

The *Two Cities* of the title are the earthly Babylon and the heavenly Jerusalem. Inasmuch as Bishop Otto was not only a man of affairs, but also a bishop and a philosopher, we might have anticipated a theological climax somewhere. His seventh book closes his history. The eighth is a theological treatise on the Anti-christ, the Last Judgment, and the world to come, a chapter which in the opinion of the author himself is an integral and necessary part of his work. His conclusion follows inevitably his premise, that the "stream of history is divided into two branches: a first, in which falls the preparation for the Redemption; and a second, in which falls the distribution of the fruits of the Redemption."

Bishop Otto is the first historian after Augustine to try to discover and reveal a guiding principle and purpose in events, namely, a philosophy of history, although he does it without any doubt that mankind is divided into the "elect and the reprobate."

A passage from the chronicle—of which Dr. Mierow has made a most excellent translation—will serve to illumine Bishop Otto:

"However, men are not lacking who say that God desired the State to be brought low, that he might exalt the Church. Forsooth no one questions the fact that the Church was exalted and enriched by the strength of the State and the favor of kings, and it is quite evident that the Church could not have so deeply humiliated the State until the State was enfeebled by its love of the priesthood, and so robbed of its strength that it was pierced and destroyed not only by the sword of the Church—that is, the spiritual weapon—but also by its own weapon, namely the material sword. To settle this point or even to discuss it is beyond our strength. However those priests seem altogether blameworthy who attempt to strike the State with its own sword—a sword which they themselves hold by the king's favor—unless perchance they think to imitate David who by God's grace first struck the Philistine and afterwards slew him with his own sword."

R. V. D. MAGOFFIN

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

HISTOIRE ANCIENNE DE L'AFRIQUE DE NORD. Tome VIII: Jules Cesar et l'Afrique, Fin des Royaumes Indigenes. By Stephane Gsell. Pp. 306. Librairie Hachette, Paris, 1928. 45 francs.

In this volume, as in the others which he has already produced on the ancient history of northern Africa, M. Gsell demonstrates those fine qualities as a historian for which he is so well known. The first of the two books into which the volume is divided presents a careful and full account of northern Africa at the time of Julius Caesar, *i.e.*, from the beginning of 49 B.C. to the assassination of the dictator in 44. A considerable portion of this book is naturally taken up with a discussion of the civil war in Africa, based largely upon the *Bellum Civile* of Caesar and the *Bellum Africum*. Full use is made, however, of the other sources, and a careful and critical analysis of the obscure and doubtful points provided.

The second half of the volume unquestionably excels the first in interest and

value. The concluding chapter of the first book deals in an illuminating manner with the arrangements of the dictator for the settlement of African affairs, such as the extent of the realms of Bocchus and Bogud, the territory of Sittius, the creation of the province of Africa Nova, and the colonization and Romanization program which Caesar was unable to carry out completely before the fateful ides of March. This chapter would be of much greater value to the reader if it were accompanied by a good map from which a more graphic idea could be obtained.

The first part of the second and shorter book is concerned with the period from 44 to 27 B.C. After as full a description as the sources permit of the civil war in Africa which followed Caesar's death, M. Gsell describes the early policy of the victorious Octavian, when about a dozen colonies were established in Mauretania and a considerable number of Roman citizens settled in the native towns.

The two succeeding chapters, which deal with the reign and personality of Juba II, form one of the most illuminating and valuable parts of the book. The establishment of the client kingdom is shown to have been consistent with the careful and conservative policy of Augustus, who probably thought a native king could manage the African population more skillfully than a Roman official. The cultural eminence of the royal capital at Caesarea (modern Cherchel) is well brought out. Juba's place in the history of ancient literature is indicated by the numerous references in the works of subsequent classical writers. His excellent artistic taste is abundantly shown by a study of the works of Greek art with which he adorned his capital, and which impress so vividly everyone who visits the charming little museum at Cherchel. It is a great pity that this volume is not provided with illustrations of at least a few of the most striking of these works of art, such as the torso of Augustus, the statue of Apollo, the Caryatid, the Demeter, the colossal Aesculapius, and also the beautiful *rinceaux*, which are so characteristic of the best of the Augustan Age, and which remind one of some of the finest work of the Renaissance. A representation of the head of Juba from Cherchel would be a useful addition.

The volume should appeal both to the general student of antiquity and the specialist in the Roman Empire. For the former the text furnishes an adequate and scholarly treatment of the subject. The latter will find in addition many valuable suggestions in the copious notes.

PREScott W. TOWNSEND

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

- I. THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES: A TOPOGRAPHICAL ITINERARY, by Alois Musil. Pp. xv + 426, ills. 57. New York, 1927.
- II. PALMYRENA: A TOPOGRAPHICAL ITINERARY, by Alois Musil. Pp. xiv + 367, ills. 90. New York, 1928.
- III. NORTHERN NEGD: A TOPOGRAPHICAL ITINERARY, by Alois Musil. Pp. xiii + 368, ills. 67. New York, 1928.

American Geographical Society Oriental Explorations and Studies Nos. 3, 4, and 5.

To the short but honorable list of explorers in the Arabian field headed by Carsten Niebuhr, the Dane, the narrative of whose travels was published in German in 1772, and including such names as Halévy, the Frenchman, Doughty, the Englishman, Huber, the Alsatian, Euting, the Swiss, and Glaser, the Austrian, the name of Alois Musil, the Czechoslovakian, should now be added. Musil's monumental works mark a new epoch in the history of Arabian exploration. Especially welcome are they at this time when our interest in, and knowledge of, even such re-

gions as the Arctic and the Antarctic are beginning to assume greater proportion than our interest in, and knowledge of, that great peninsula in the southwestern part of Asia which is larger than India in size and which, as the cradle of the Semitic race, as the birthplace of the third great monotheistic religion, and as the home of that mighty people who in medieval times spread their conquests from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Wall of China and contributed materially to the modern awakening of Europe, has been of paramount significance to the cultural history of mankind.

These three volumes belong to a series of six, published by the American Geographical Society, of which Vol. I is *The Northern H̄égâz*, Vol. II, *Arabia Deserta*, and Vol. VI, *The Manners and Customs of the Rivala Bedouins*. Taken together these volumes record Musil's expeditions of 1908-1915 and his researches in the historical geography of the regions visited. The routes are indicated on accompanying maps. In the course of his travels the author covered on camelback more than nine thousand miles.

Each of the three volumes under review consists of a topographical itinerary followed by a series of appendixes. The itineraries give minute narratives of the author's journeys day by day. Some of the data presented in all three volumes is of little relative importance, and the element of human interest is generally lacking. Nor does the author seem to have an eye for the romantic; but with German-like precision he tells us (*The Middle Euphrates*, p. 26) that he filled the water bags from 7.32 to 7.52 A.M., crossed the Euphrates at 8.01 (as if it made any real difference to the rest of the world whether he said that or simply at 8), rested from 8.34 to 9.22, and so throughout the other works. The appendixes, thrown to the end of each volume and printed in smaller type, are scholarly studies in the realm of historical geography, based, for the most part, upon critical comparisons of the original sources-Assyro-Babylonian, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Arabic—with the existing topography and relics of the past. This is clearly a case of keeping the good wine till the end. Or perhaps, the author, steeped in Arabian folk ways, was unconsciously influenced by the system of Arabic letter writing, still prevalent, whereby the writer fills the body of his letter with salaams, inquiries about the precious health and the welfare of the family and other irrelevant matter, and keeps the main point of business for which the whole letter is written to a P.S. at the very end. All three volumes are fully illustrated with maps, photographs, pen-and-ink sketches, plans and architectural drawings. A map of Northern Arabia, in brown and black, 1: 1,000,000, 4 sheets, each 52 x 49 cm., accompanies these volumes. Each volume is complete in itself with bibliography and index; but taken together, all form a closely-knit unit.

I. *The Middle Euphrates* reports (pp. 1-190) the journeys of the author in 1912 and 1915 along both banks of the Euphrates from the great eastward bend of that river as far as the site of ancient Babylon and into the hitherto imperfectly explored interior of Mesopotamia. Among the important places visited and described are Dayr al-Zur (the transliteration here and throughout the review, except when quoted, is that of the reviewer and not of the author), al-Najaf, Baghdað, Takrit, al-Raqqah and al-Hirah. In the twenty-one appendixes (pp. 197-363) appear a discussion of the campaigns and routes of the Assyrian and Chaldean conquerors (pp. 205-212), new interpretations of the routes of Xenophon (pp. 213-224) and Julian the Apostate (pp. 232-237), reconstructions of medieval commercial highways from 'Irâq to Syria (pp. 242-256), an extensive study of the canals of Babylonia in ancient and medieval times (pp. 258-280), together with an elaborate treatment of the campaigns of the Moslem general, Khâlid ibn-al-Walid.

II. *Palmyrena records* (pp. 1-230) journeys of 1908, 1912, and 1915 in the territory of the desert town, Tadmur (Palmyra), the home of Queen Zenobia. The ruined city of al-Rusāfah with its Ghassanian and Byzantine monuments is described in some detail (pp. 155-168). Ten appendixes (pp. 229-323) contain material on the civil and ecclesiastical administration of this region in the early centuries of the Christian era (pp. 233-237 and 273), on Roman and Arabian routes and military stations (pp. 237-252), and also data on the country residences of the Umayyad caliphs (pp. 277-296).

III. *Northern Negd* is particularly valuable for the light it throws on central Arabian politics, central Arabia having produced in our own time the strong man of Arabia, ibn-al-Su'ūd (wrongly spelled ibn-al-Sa'ūd). The volume describes (pp. 1-195) an extended journey made by the author in 1915 from al-Jawf southward along the eastern border of the Nufūd into the Shammar territory, westward to the Hijāz Railway at al-'Alā', and then returning through the Shammar region northeast to Mesopotamia. Ten appendixes (pp. 205-316) include a discussion of the pilgrim routes from Kūfah to the holy cities of Islam (pp. 205-211), a history of the House of ibn-al-Rashid (pp. 236-254), a history of the House of ibn-al-Su'ūd (pp. 256-301), and an attempt to refute the theory of desiccation as applied to the Arabian peninsula (pp. 304-316).

As for the system of transliteration used throughout these volumes, it is atrocious—to say the least. It is based on the German system; but why should an author writing in English use such a system in spite of the fact that there is a well recognized system recommended by the International Congress of Orientalists and adopted by such learned publications as the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* is beyond all comprehension. Why should Najd, for instance, be written "Negd"; Hijāz, "Hēgaz"; Fāsh, "Fās" (*The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 248 seq.), with those queer marks which are the horror of the printer and a mystery to the reader, when the English simple spelling can reproduce almost the exact Arabic equivalents? And why write "Rwejr" (*Palmyrena*, pp. 255 seq.) for Ghuwayr? And what English reader seeing "at-Ta'labijje" (*Northern Negd*, pp. 5 seq.) would read it ath-Tha'labiyah? And why should the diphthong be represented by "ej" when we have *ai* or *ay*? Another thing that adds confusion to an already confused problem is the fact that the author transliterates names of persons, plants and animals as he hears them spoken instead of transliterating them as they should be in their classical forms. Such procedure is dangerous because different tribes and different generations pronounce the same word differently; but the classical form remains always the same. In certain cases it is, of course, valuable to have both forms. But to write Mu'ummād "Mhammed" (*The Middle Euphrates*, p. 166) and Kubūr "Kbūr" (*ibid.*, p. 94) etc., etc., has no justification.

PHILIP K. HITT

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

A CENTURY OF EXPLORATION AT NINEVEH, by R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson. Luzac and Co., London, 1929.

Serious students will skim rapidly the oft told story of the earlier excavations as well as the chapter "Nowadays," with personal experiences and lists of local fauna and flora, to concentrate on the details of later investigations. The work of King in 1903-1904 consisted primarily in clearing the remaining portions of the palaces of Ashur-bani-apal and of Sennacherib. He touched the chalcolithic level, found three Assyrian levels which can be correlated with Thompson's later

discoveries, and uncovered a section of a new palace. After King's return, Thompson located the long sought Temple of Nabu.

The chief result of the 1927-1928 excavations was the clearance of the Nabu Temple. The hoped for library was not found, but there were numerous inscriptions of Sargon and of Ashur-bani-apal. Inscriptions of Ashur-uballit, Tiglath Pileser I, Adad-nirari II, Tukulti Urtia II, Ashur-nasir-apal, and Shalmaneser III, with fragmentary reliefs of Ashur-nasir-apal, led in the last weeks to an early palace which still remains to be excavated. Other important finds include a palace built by Sennacherib for a son, the first complete account of Esarhaddon's accession, and a new prism of Ashur-bani-apal. The definitive publication will be in *Archaeologia*.

A last chapter presents "The History of Nineveh." The earliest occupation was chalcolithic, with pottery derived from that of Susa I and contemporary with Susa II and Moussian. Dudley Buxton discusses the first known Assyrian skull, of Armenoid type and buried in a larnax. Data for the early and as yet undiscovered Ishtar Temple are presented. Naturally the greater part is devoted to the buildings of Sennacherib, who first made Nineveh the Assyrian capital. In a long note, the authors disagree with the reviewer's location of the Tibilu stream and of certain city gates. (A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, Scribners, New York, 1923, 327.) It might be noted that the King inscription was not published until after the reviewer's return from Assyria, and so checking on the spot was impossible. The authors believe that the fortifications were left unfinished at the death of Sennacherib, and that this contributed to the ultimate fall of the city. Three pages give the later history of Nineveh. We hope that remains from this time will be properly published, for we need every scrap of evidence for this darkest period of oriental history. When, for example, reference is made to a castle, "probably built by the Persians and occupied by the Romans," does this really mean that it is Parthian?

The chapter "Nowadays" closes with a well deserved tribute to the enlightened treatment of archaeologists by the Iraq authorities. The preface frankly admits that this little book is intended to secure more adequate funds for future excavation. Despite the unkind and unnecessary reference to "an American professor of Egyptology," in the note to page 71, all American orientalists will unite in the hope that the British public will continue to support excavation in the great Assyrian capital.

A. T. OLMLSTEAD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE SUMERIANS, by C. Leonard Woolley. Pp. xi+198, with 29 illustrations. Oxford University Press, New York, 1929. \$2.50.

This well-written volume represents an attempt on the part of the excavator himself to use his finds for the reconstruction and expansion of known history. The remarkable discoveries at Ur and at nearby Al 'Ubaid gain in value through this praiseworthy endeavor. Cuneiform inscriptions, works of art, and pottery form the basis of Mr. Woolley's new approach to the problem of origins along artistic, social, political, and religious lines. Antiquities uncovered at other ancient sites in Mesopotamia are employed as corroborative criteria.

Pushing back the origin of civilization to an earlier period of the race is not an easy process. The Graeco-Roman world has long possessed prestige as the arena where human culture, as at present conceived, developed. However, many discoveries are placing unequivocal emphasis upon the extensive indebtedness of

Greeks and Romans to Oriental sources of standard modes of life and idealistic conceptions of art. The attention of the world has been directed with increasing interest to southern Mesopotamia which in recent years has yielded indubitable proofs that it supported hitherto unsuspected heights of human achievement in antiquity. Not only is this so, but the very bases of advancement in Egypt, Greece, and Rome are now to be attributed to a broad range of accomplishments on the part of the Sumerians who were unknown a century ago. Such, at any rate, is the contention of Mr. Woolley in the book under review.

His architectural argument is sound. The Sumerians would appear to have been precursors in the utilization of the arch and vault. They may also be regarded as pioneers in the development of recessed panelling for the purpose of exterior decoration. In the sphere of pure art they undoubtedly had attained perfection, within the limits of their field of activities, as early as the fourth millennium B.C.

There is room for divergence of opinion as to how these facts should be interpreted. Long rivalry existed between the Sumerians and the Semites. Records of their early contacts and later struggles do not furnish sufficient data for the determination of the question of priority. Some hold that the Sumerians anticipated the Semites in establishing settlements in the lower part of the Tigris-Euphrates valley; others claim precedence and predominant influence for the Semites. The possibility that Mesopotamia was inhabited by a third historical people at a still earlier date must be taken into account. Mr. Woolley submits the theory that the Semites arrived first and that the Sumerians came afterwards by way of the sea. He believes that the latter communicated their civilization to the former, who thus became the carriers of certain phases of Sumerian culture to the confines of western Asia and thence to Africa and Europe. There must be confirmation by future discoveries before this hypothesis can be accepted as final. In the meantime the admirable book by Mr. Woolley will stimulate the imagination and spur research in the field where he has gained just renown.

RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY

YALE UNIVERSITY

LES ILLUSTRATIONS ANTIQUES DE L'ILIADE, by Kazimierz Bulas (Eus Supplementa vol. 3). Pp. vii + 144; figs. 68. Lwów, 1929.

The work is a doctoral dissertation by a pupil of Bierikowski and consists of a review of the monuments of archaic, classic, and Graeco-Roman art that illustrate the Iliad, with appended lists of these monuments and of the scenes of the Iliad that have been the theme of such illustration. A fairly comprehensive bibliography is scattered through the work, including some apparently important titles that have not figured before in the literature of the subject, such as Gasiorowski, *Malarstwo miniaturowe grecko-rzymskie* (Greco-Roman miniature-painting), published at Cracow (with résumé in English) in 1928. In each period the author deals first with the scenes of Achilles' wrath and the consequent episodes, then with the combats, and finally with the episodes of *genre* character and miscellaneous scenes. In the archaic period, when the material is predominantly found in the vase-paintings, the author finds that the artists limited themselves to certain oft-repeated scenes adapted to the habitual schemes of archaic style; they cannot be considered as "illustrators" in the modern sense, since variation from the text is the rule rather than the exception, but the discrepancies are not found in essential motifs and constitute no reason to seek elsewhere than in the Iliad the source from which they drew. In the classic period of the fifth and fourth

centuries B.C. the number of monuments illustrating the Iliad is markedly diminished, as well as the number of scenes depicted, while few new scenes are introduced; the "duel" combats disappear altogether, save for two examples of *Achilles Slaying Lycaon* on South Italian vases. Nearly all the author's examples from this period were found in Italy. The conclusions reached are about the same as for the archaic period: there is the same modification of the episodes to conform to the schemes in vogue, and the same derivation from the Homeric text alone, which is used loosely as a tradition rather than with close adherence to the written text which would characterize real illustration; occasionally one sees the influence of tragedy, e.g., the Aeschylean motifs in the *Ransom of Hector*.

The most interesting portion of the book deals with the "Hellenistic-Roman" epoch, wherein the author has made use of the frescoes and stuccoes with scenes from the Iliad recently discovered at Pompeii. These, with the cycles of the *Tabulae Iliacae* and of the Homeric cups, are related by the author to the Iliad miniatures of the Ambrosiana at Milan, as being all in the continuous mode of representation, and derived from illustrated *rotuli* of the Hellenistic period, which first introduced the illustration of the poem in any precise sense. He makes no attempt to localize the origin of this illustration-cycle, nor to date its beginning, but his conclusion as to the existence of such illustrated *rotuli* before the Christian era is of considerable importance not only to the student of ancient art but also to the mediaevalists who are attempting to trace to their antique source such obvious echoes of Hellenistic style as are found in the miniatures of the *Joshua Roll* and of the *Paris Psalter*.

The book is on the whole more valuable for its description and critique of the numerous examples treated than for its contributions of a general character to the history of antique style, save in the one respect above noted.

C. R. MOREY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

FIRST REPORT OF THE PREHISTORIC SURVEY EXPEDITION, by K. S. Sanford and W. J. Arkell. Oriental Institute Communications, No. 3. Pp. ix+52, with 29 illustrations. Foreword by James Henry Breasted. The University of Chicago Press, 1928.

The aim of archaeology is to push back our knowledge of ancient man as far as possible. Pure history can no longer claim sole attention, since the solution of certain problems directs the investigating mind to the period of pre-history. Messrs. Sanford and Arkell have, therefore, done a much-needed piece of work by studying the remains of pre-Egyptian dwellers in the Nile valley.

The first half of their readable and instructive report contains an outline of the geology of Egypt, a survey of later stages in the history of the Nile basin, and a discussion of the succession of human industries in Europe and in Egypt. The second half is an interesting record of their field experiences in 1926-27. Pictures, charts, and a map add to the reader's understanding of the report. It is gratifying that a real and serviceable beginning has been made in unraveling the mystery with which predynastic Egypt has been shrouded.

RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY

YALE UNIVERSITY

THE EXCAVATION OF ARMAGEDDON, by Clarence S. Fisher. Oriental Institute Communications, No. 4. Pp. xiii+78, with 53 illustrations. Foreword by James Henry Breasted. The University of Chicago Press, 1929.

The excavation of the massive mound of Megiddo in Palestine is an archaeological enterprise of the first magnitude. Dr. Fisher presents an interesting and

valuable statement of the beginnings of the work of Chicago University at this site. After an excellent survey of Megiddo's topographical features and historical importance the organization and thorough equipment of the expedition are described.

One of the most helpful sections of the report is that which outlines the ideal methods pursued in débris investigation. Needless to say, the task is being undertaken with scientific precision and the utmost care in tabulating finds. It was necessary to clear the eastern slope of the mound in order to obtain a dumping place for the refuse of excavation. In this process numerous rock-cut tombs were discovered. The recovered archaeological contents of these tombs proved most helpful in reconstructing different stages of Megiddo's occupation. Egypt's known interest in the locality was made more real by the finding of a fragment of a stele of Shishak. After the preliminary examination of the mound work was begun on the summit of the ruins, the plan being to excavate layer by layer.

At the close of the report a description is given of the author's forthcoming corpus of Palestinian pottery, which will be awaited with great interest. Clear and attractive style characterize this bulletin.

RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY

YALE UNIVERSITY

DAEDALUS AND THESPIS: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ANCIENT DRAMATIC POETS TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF GREECE. Vol. I. Architecture and Topography. Pp. viii+329. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929.

In this work, of which the first of its three volumes has appeared, Dean Miller proposes to classify and discuss all passages referring to the plastic arts in the extant works and fragments of all the ancient Greek dramatic poets. Volume II will deal with sculpture, Volume III with painting and ceramics. The magnitude of the undertaking may be inferred from the fact that Euripides alone furnishes 892 passages. The work is the result of many years' labor. Hence, perhaps, one misses here and there a pertinent reference to recent literature, e.g., on the Amyclaeum (p. 96) to *Jhb. d. Inst.* XXXIII (1918), 108-245; for the Amphiarous, Darius and Medea vases (pp. 205, 273, 306) the reader is referred to Baumeister, rather than to Furtwängler-Reichhold.

The volume before us discusses the following subjects: temples and other sacred places—more than 80 in all (42-196); dwellings (197-234); tombs (235-246); walls (247-270); various other buildings (271-300), and stage architecture (301-329). Topography receives more attention than architecture, and numerous citations are made from Pausanias and other sources. The Greek passages in the text are accompanied by an English translation, which gives the work an appeal to the same public as the Loeb Classical Library. From the nature of the subject matter the book is not for continuous reading, but it will prove valuable for reference to teachers and lovers of Greek drama, and occasionally to the specialist, too, although the field which is covered is so wide that an exhaustive treatment of any passage is neither achieved nor intended. It is the best available handbook for the student of Greek drama who visits Greece; it offers a suggestive commentary on many passages, and the section on stage architecture is the fullest discussion to be found in any single volume in English of the stage setting of the extant Greek tragedies and comedies—a feature which is altogether too much neglected in our annotated editions. The 48 full-page photographs, at least half of which are not easily, if at all, to be found elsewhere, add greatly to the value of the book.

Many of Dean Miller's conclusions are open to discussion. Lack of space permits the mention of only a few of these: (1) that there was a change in the façade of the temple in the *Eumenides* when the scene shifts from Delphi to Athens, as the author holds (p. 44), is denied by Wilamowitz (*Aeschylus, Interpretations*, 180), but neither the latter nor Dean Miller offers evidence against or for the change; (2) "Aristophanes's *Clouds* must have been played <not in the Dionysiac Theatre, but in a theatre> facing northward across the Agora and Ceramicus" (p. 291), because Parnes must have been in sight (vs. 323). The scholiast offers another solution of the difficulty: δεικνυει δι αντρός δρός εν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῷ Πάρνηθα, which seems to indicate that Parnes was represented on a panel-picture in an intercolumniation of the proscenium; (3) "in the Homeric poems the women's apartments are always in the upper story" (p. 209). Homer does not mention an upper story in the palaces of Paris, Menelaus or Priam: if Hecabe (Z 288) "went down [from the *θρέπων* (?)] into a fragrant chamber" (p. 233), Priam (Ω 291) must have done the same, which is altogether unlikely; (4) if οὐλαὶ πύλαι (S. *Antig.* 18) is the gate between the great court (as at Tiryns) and the street (p. 199 f.), a change of scene immediately after the *prologos* must be assumed, for the chief action of this tragedy goes on before the main door of the palace. It seems more probable, therefore, that the poet had in mind the dwelling house of his own times. In general, Dean Miller seems inclined to explain many features of the palace in tragedy by reference to the Mycenaean palace. But certainly in Homer, at least, there is no mention of locking or bolting the door by which one entered the palace from the court; in tragedy, on the other hand, the great door of the palace is often made fast (pp. 210 ff.). In the Homeric palace there was little need for locking the door into the *megaron* because the gate of the court offered sufficient protection against the intruder; at Ithaca even this gate was apparently not locked during the day, cf. Ω 240 f. On this point and on many others Dean Miller's stimulating discussions will be a spur to further investigations.

SAMUEL BASSETT

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

ANCIENT PAINTINGS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERIOD OF CHRISTIAN ART, by *Mary Hamilton Swindler*. Pp. XLV & 488, plates XVI, figures 640. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929. Price \$5. and \$10.

This excellent work admirably succeeds in its purpose of presenting in very readable form the systematic history of painting from its earliest appearance in Mediterranean and Mesopotamian lands down to the time of the Christian catacombs. Throughout the long exposition the author has revealed fine judgment in her selection of monuments and great discretion in description, appreciation and generalization, at no time leading the reader into the maze of minutiae in which the study of vase painting has lost itself in recent years. Technique is considered but never to the point of desiccation. Practically all the important paintings discussed are reproduced in excellent plates (some in color) and figures. Extensive bibliography, indices, chronological tables and a map showing the sites, where ancient paintings have been found, enhance the usefulness of the book while a very reasonable price puts it within the reach of all. The text is easy to read and singularly free from misprints. The reader may wish that the many illustrations at the end of the volume had been separately bound so that constant reference to them would involve less interruption.

The reviewer noted very few slips. Europa is described (p. 163) as landing after

her long voyage "from Crete." Her point of departure for Crete was Phoenicia. The citation (p. 169) of a recent investigation of Greek glaze omits the name of one collaborator, Professor Fraser. The titles used for unknown Greek vase painters are convenient but in some cases distressing. That of "Chicago painter" is hopeless.

Certain interpretations and discussions are either doubtful or incomplete. The early Egyptian vase painting discussed on p. 14 depicts a farewell to the dead rather than a dancing woman. The smaller figures are her children. The aquatic birds at the edge of the river, and the gazelles in the background make this painting the remote prototype of scenes of the Nile Valley such as is found in the Palestina mosaic (cf. p. 318). The early slate palette pictured in figure 34 offers an unexpected continuity of scene. The two figures of the lowest register on one side of the plaque which look back as they flee are more fortunate than their companion on the other side of the palette who is being trampled by the royal bull.

The paragraph of tribute to the Cretans (p. 73) which finely characterizes them as an instinctively artistic race is substantiated by an appreciative discussion of their painting. The least artistic of the Minoan paintings—those on the sarcophagus of Hagia Triada—are in other respects of prime importance and deserve more extended notice than they receive. The four scenes are all sepulchral. The blood of the bull slaughtered in the first scene is poured as a libation to the deceased in the second scene and on the short ends is the chariot in which the deceased makes the celestial journey. This is the first appearance of a motive which will later recur on Cypriote sarcophagus and on the famous Etruscan chariot of bronze in the Metropolitan Museum. The chariot group on the Cretan sarcophagus shows the antiquity of a conception in the *Phaedrus* where Plato speaks of "the yoke of horses which the charioteer of man's soul driveth." The male lyre player in the second scene is another figure of large significance because of his female attire. This Minoan and Homeric conception of the lyre-player as effeminate was passed on to Lydia. Croesus advised Cyrus to command the young Lydians who had revolted to learn to play the lyre because they would then quickly become women instead of men. Through Ionia, the effeminate Minoan lyre player passed to classical Greece in the form of the effeminate Apollo citharoedus (cf. Glotz, *La civilisation Égéeenne*, p. 344). The seven stringed lyre went with him. The sarcophagus can thus add some confirmation to the statement (p. 90) that Ionia was the heir of Crete. Important too is the "marbling" on the ends of the sarcophagus which it inherited through polychrome ware from the beautiful stone vases of the third millennium, and which appears again centuries later at Pompeii in imitative marble revetments. Do we not find "painting with slabs of colored marble" in the variegated blocks of an Etruscan fountain (Figure 390; p. 242)?

The chapters on Greek vase painting are extremely good. In that on "Laconian" ware the suggestion that the figure of Arkesilas is "almost a caricature" in an amusing picture is quite unwarranted. The connection in idea of the principal scene with figures in the exergue below, which is illustrated by this and other Laconian cylices is unnoticed, and yet is indicative of a tendency toward unity of subject.

The discussion of Klazomenian vase-painting does not sufficiently emphasize its indebtedness to Mycenaean art. The Munich vase (Pl. VIII f.) certainly derives its female forms from that source, and the scalloped painting of animals on a Klazomenian sarcophagus recalls that of the charging bull of the Tirynthian fresco (cf. figs. 180 and 220). Another Klazomenian sarcophagus (fig. 223) has upon its cover a scene of chariot racing. The tall "column" at the right is rather the meta

of the course. Three chariots have rounded it; three others are approaching it from the left. Between the two is a nicely designed transitional group of two men seizing a third. This is not "the capture of the spy Dolon" but rather the seizure of a *morator ludi* who appears with dogs in an Etruscan painting (fig. 413 *cf.* *B. C. H.* 1913, pl. XIII). The scene thus acquires complete consistency and is to be regarded as the sequel to the battle scene along the opposite edge of the cover. A chariot race followed the death of Patroclus on the Trojan plain.

In the discussion of the stele of Lyseas (fig. 240, p. 152) no reference is made to the mystic significance of the cantharus and grain stalks which Lyseas holds. They are symbols of immortality given by Dionysus and the Eleusinian Demeter, as are the pomegranates in a Cumaeian painting (fig. 440, p. 262). Nor are the heads of Persephone and Demeter (fig. 602) painted in the tombs of Kertch simple decoration but rather prompted by the hope which the Eleusinian Demeter inspired in the hearts of her initiates. The mystic character of these representations is as obvious as that of the frescoes of the Villa Iteu (p. 331).

The Brygos painter is credited (p. 168) with an effective composition for the interior of a cup (fig. 289). But this badly congested group of Selene and her horses cannot compare with "the flute player and the dancer" by Epiktetos (fig. 287) who here reveals himself as a master of balanced unified grouping, fine spacing and pure Attic simplicity. The gaze of both figures is directed toward the center of the circular field, the dancer gracefully turning back her head like her later counterpart in the letters of Alciphron. She is caricatured in the Hellenistic bronze from Mahdia. The composition is saved from vertical division into halves by the crossing of the legs—the same means which Phidias used in the figures of Athena and Poseidon to link together the balanced groups of the west pediment of the Parthenon. Duris does not receive much consideration (p. 176), yet his $\delta\pi\lambda\omega\pi\ k\rho\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$ is finely illustrative of balance between groups and within groups, offers an excellent case of a trilogy in cylix-painting and exemplifies the contest scheme which Duris shares with the sculptors of fifth century pedimental groups. All these seem to be points worthy of mention. Figure 323, representing Aesop and the fox, is cited as an example of caricature (p. 178) but the disproportionately large head of Aesop alludes to his deformity and may not be described strictly as caricature.

The Berlin mosaic (fig. 377) can hardly be the sequel to the painting by Zeuxis of the Centaur family, p. 230. In the mosaic the centaress is attacked by a tiger, not a lion. The scene is rather of centaurs and animals near a pool to which they have come to drink by chance at the same time. The water is seen in the low foreground. The tiger which has already brought down the centaress turns to confront the centaur. He has laid low a lion, and holding a rock above his head, like the Laestrygonian in the Odyssey landscape, will next crush the tiger. There is a typically Greek chiastic balance in the struggle, one centaur and one animal slain. A leopard in the background completes the small menagerie.

The twenty-five pages given to Etruscan painting are sufficient in view of its secondary character which the author clearly analyzes. The observation of Stryk that the paintings of the Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti give the relative positions which the different groups actually took in a family banquet room is worth quotation. Of larger significance is the altar with concave sides and rams' heads which is painted in the gable of the Tomba dei Tori (fig. 390; p. 242). The rams' heads recall the appellative of altars, *κεραούχος* which Furtwängler cited in his commentary of the Busiris vase (fig. 214). This pedimental altar is linked in origin with the altar pedestal of the lion's gate relief and of the Tanit stele which show similar

concave form. It passed from Crete to Northern Syria as is shown by the ivory plaque recently found at Minet-el-Beida, and to Etruria by way of Ionia along with the panelled socle of Tirynthian mural painting.

The significance of Plutarch's remark (p. 272; cf. p. 43) that Apelles did not paint Alexander fair but darker and browner than he was, is overlooked. The browner color attests the survival of that primitive convention which prescribed a darker flesh tint for men than for women. The Herakles of the Busiris vase is an archaic example while the Etruscan sarcophagus at Florence and Pompeian paintings show its persistence through the Hellenistic period. In scenes of the discovery of Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes (fig. 457) his disguise as a girl explains his light flesh tint which is sharply contrasted with the dark bodies of the Greeks.

The discussion of Kabeiric vases does not touch upon the Semitic connections of the cult. The title of the Kabeiric priest was Semitic. The explanation of this lies probably in the tradition of the Phoenician origin of Cadmus, the founder of Thebes. It is curious that the ring handles of Kabeiric cups appear in Boscoreale silverware, which may derive its gracefully entwined sprays from those painted on the Theban scyphoi. The mosaic of Sosus (p. 309) representing an unswept floor was sufficiently well known at Rome to add to Roman vocabulary the transparent names *asarotum* and *asaroticus lapillus*. Apparently Pergamon was an important center for mosaic.

The Aldobrandini Marriage is happily attributed to a great tradition. The excellent transitional figure of Hymenaeus is proof of it but Charis leans against a pillar in a clumsy way far removed from the graceful pose of Praxitelean figures. The structure of the wall is to be closely compared with that of the Hediste stele. The Eros of a Pompeian fresco driving his dolphins over the sea (fig. 576), what is he but the playful Hellenistic version of the Sophoclean *Ἑρως ὑπερπόντιος?* So, too, the Eros that stands on a scroll in the tomb of the Nasonii (fig. 597) restates a motive of fifth century vase painting.

These comments are in the nature of elaboration rather than criticism. The book gives a splendid survey of the achievements of the ancient painters, a survey from which both the general reader and the special student will derive many hours of enjoyment and instruction.

G. W. ELDERKIN

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

CORINTH. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Volume IV, part I. Decorated Architectural Terracottas, by *Ida Thallon Hill* and *Lida Shaw King*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Published for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens by Harvard University Press, 1929. xii, 120 pages, 5 plates, 48 figs. \$5.00.

In the assignments of the objects found at Corinth, the architectural terracottas, begun by Miss King, and Mrs. Hill (then Miss Thallon) in 1900, were finally entrusted to Mrs. Hill alone, to whom must be given the credit for having brought the work to completion. She has produced a workmanlike and highly adequate volume, and it may be truly said has extracted all the information possible from her material.

The book is divided into two parts, a general discussion of architectural terracottas, and a catalogue of those found at Corinth. The catalogue (pp. 45-114) may be dismissed in a few words. The objects are listed under Antefixes (A1-124) Ridge-Palmettes (R1-38) Simas (S1-380) Decorated Eaves-Tiles (T1-144) and

Miscellaneous (M1-10). This last group includes some very interesting acroteria fragments. It is a pity that a more strictly chronological order of numbering was not followed, in listing the objects; for the introductory discussion shows that it is not always adhered to. It is also a pity that there is so little material available as to the provenance of the objects; but that is not Mrs. Hill's fault. Anyone who has worked at Corinth realizes that the earlier excavators left very little data of this kind for their successors to use.

Far more important than the catalogue itself is this introductory discussion of architectural terracottas. Here Mrs. Hill shows herself under constant indebtedness to the thorough, scientific work of Mrs. Van Buren in this field, and on every page reference is made to that scholar's *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period*. But the dedication of Mrs. Van Buren's book shows that her debt to Mrs. Hill is almost equally great.

Each type of terracotta is carefully analyzed and discussed. The chronology is roughly similar to that of vases, the specimens with dark-on-light decoration antedating the light-on-dark. In the case of the antefixes we look in vain for human heads, such as are found at Thermon, and in Etruria, although the claim is made that the type is of Corinthian origin. This claim, based on literary evidence, cannot be regarded as proven; for all the antefixes are of the palmette type, often with an inverted lotus. More important, and quite convincing, is the well-substantiated statement that the type of decorated sima, up to now called "Megarian" (from its having been first found in the Treasury of the Megarians at Olympia) must be regarded as Corinthian. This seems to this reviewer to be emphatically the most important contribution to knowledge to be found in the book, and scholars must revise their opinions from now on.

The appearance of the book is most pleasing. The binding is severe and handsome; the paper of fine quality; the type beautifully clear; and the pagination excellent. The splendid plates by Professor Duell are a noteworthy feature of the book. The photographs in the text sometimes leave something to be desired for clearness of detail.

STEPHEN BLECKER LUCE

BOSTON, MASS.

NABONIDUS AND BELSHAZZAR (Yale Oriental Series: Researches, Volume XV) by Raymond Philip Dougherty, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929. \$3.00.

Professor Dougherty has given us, not a history, but the materials for a history, investigated with a minuteness and a sanity of criticism which is worthy of all praise. Each phase of the subject is considered in a separate chapter, the relevant source material is cited in full, and then the conclusion is drawn. It is difficult indeed to object to such method or to the conclusions whose exact degree of probability is so carefully stated.

Students of the classics will be glad to note the side lights thrown on the writings of the various Greek authors. In particular, they will be pleased to see that Herodotus is once more shown to be more exact than his later detractors. Biblical students will naturally welcome the collection of references to Belshazzar and the discussions of the historical value of the book of Daniel. It is curious that the letter of Belshazzar and the four references to the "king's son" in R. Campbell Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters*, 1906, nos. 68, 62f., 131, 150, have been omitted.

With all his carefulness in stating just how far the evidence permits us to go, there is a definite tendency to allow the possibility of any statement in a classical or Biblical source which is not directly contradicted elsewhere. This may perhaps

be allowed with Herodotus, it is a different matter with the Cyropaedia of Xenophon and the fifth chapter of Daniel. In the Cyropaedia especially, there are so many direct contradictions of known historical fact that the only safe rule is to use nothing which appears in an unhistorical context. All three sources represent the anti-Chaldaean propaganda of the Persian period.

Dougherty's discovery of the Teima residence of Nabu-naid is brilliant. He follows Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 1924, in making the Teima campaign belong to Nabu-naid's third year. Both Smith and Dougherty have failed to notice the restoration by E. F. Weidner, *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, VI, 1922, 117 ff., of a fragment of the Nabu-naid annals which fills up year three and makes a further expedition to Teima impossible. In the Nabu-naid-Cyrus Chronicle, the campaign of year three is to Amnananu, the Anti-Lebanon, and the last place mentioned is Dummu. This is generally restored Adummu, and equated with Edom; it is more probable that Dummu is the Biblical Dumah, and marks the last stage before the attack on Teima, which was then presumably in year four.

Long years ago, there was a theory that many of the Assyrian references to Musri and of the Biblical to Misraim were not to Egypt but to a hypothetical kingdom of Musri in the Negeb south of Palestine. After actual exploration of the country in question, the reviewer proved that this Musri was a figment of the imagination. The reviewers all insisted that the authors of the theory had been misrepresented—and then the theory disappeared from sight. Since the Great War, the theory has once more crept to sight. It is a pity that Professor Dougherty has given it even passing attention. It is still more unfortunate that he followed the theory which once, and once only, identifies the Umman-manda with the Scythians, for elsewhere no one doubts that Umman-manda means the Medes. He seems not to have known the reviewer's *Chaldaean Dynasty*, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, II, 1925, 29 ff.

These minor objections should not prevent full realization of the outstanding merit of the book. Is it too much to ask that Professor Dougherty will increase still more our debt by giving us a companion volume on the earlier kings of the Chaldaean dynasty?

A. T. OLSTEAD

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

OLD CIVILIZATION OF THE NEW WORLD, by A. Hyatt Verrill, pp. 393, 56 illustrations. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis 1929. \$5.00.

Old Civilizations of the New World reveals an unsuspected fascination in the archaeology of our own continent. Few people realize that remarkable cultures had risen and fallen in the New World prior to those of Egypt. Concerning these early races no one is better qualified to stimulate our interest than the author, who has engaged in field work during many years for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, of New York City. Perhaps the author's greatest fault, and one which may be pardoned because of his keen enthusiasm, is the extravagant praise which he bestows upon all of these early races so that it is difficult for the general reader to form an estimate of their relative merits. We do not question the fact that the "Mayan writing is one of the most marvelous achievements of any race," but we are inclined to be skeptical when we are told "that no other race ever yet has woven—by hand or machine—textiles to equal those produced by the ancient Peruvians" and that the "famed Roman roads and aqueducts seem

scarcely more than child's play beside the marvelous highways and other engineering wonders of the Incans." One wishes to know if the author makes these statements after taking into consideration the Gobelin tapestries and such Roman structures as the Pont du Gard and the bridge over the Tagus at Alcantara in Spain. On the other hand the reader's confidence is gained by the rejection of many elaborate theories in favor of sensible arguments and simple explanations.

The Mayas, the Toltecs and Aztecs, the Incans and Pre-Incans are discussed among others as well as their architecture, crafts and religious customs. A fairly detailed account is given of the structures at Yucatan and at Cocté, which is called the Pompeii of America. Though no steel or iron were found in any of the excavations the author feels that people so intelligent and skillful must have known how to smelt the iron ore which is abundant in the countries where these early civilizations flourished (p. 71). He feels that it would have been almost impossible without the aid of this material for such accurately carved and joined blocks to be fashioned as are to be found in the many existing temples.

The section on the mythology of the Mayas is most welcome. The representation of each god given in outline drawing is accompanied by a brief description of his attributes (pp. 100-106). Following this is a lucid explanation of the Mayan calendar.

That many questions regarding the early races of America still remain to be solved is evident from the chapter on "Puzzles and Problems." The situation may be summed up in the author's own words, "We do not even know the origin of any one of the races which rose to such heights; we do not know positively to what race or stocks they belonged; we do not know when their civilizations or cultures commenced, and with one or two exceptions, we do not know when they ended or what brought about their downfall" (p. 39). In spite of these uncertainties we find (p. 56) the positive statement that "at the very lowest estimate some of them go back for fully five thousand years." A little more evidence at this point would seem to be in order.

KATE MCK. ELDERKIN

PRINCETON, N. J.

AN INTRODUCTION TO BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, by G. S. DUNCAN. sm. oct., pp. 174. Revell, New York, 1928.

An attempt to describe the bearing of archaeological discovery upon the stories, chronicles and language of the Hebrews and the early Christians. The book thus endeavors to do what H. Gressmann did in his *Texte und Bilder* and what G. Barton has done in his *Archaeology and the Bible*. The result is most unsatisfactory in every way. In the effort to be popular it is always superficial, sometimes directly misleading (cf. "the Hebrews very soon after the flood erected a tower in Babylon, Gen. 11, 1-9" p. 85) and sometimes positively naïve (cf. "Biblical critics should be regarded among God's greatest gifts to the world" p. 160). Really this publication does not merit attention in a scientific journal.

C. H. KRAELING

YALE UNIVERSITY

BETH SHEMESH, by Elihu Grant, large octavo, pp. 222. Published privately at Haverford.

This book is a monument to the devotion which a meticulously careful scholar has lavished upon the site of an ancient Canaanitic and Israelitic town. The site yielded unimposing remains of a wall, a temple and superimposed strata of pri-

vate dwellings. From the remains were garnered the usual stone artifacts, potsherds, scarabs, beads and a few bronze implements. The most interesting single item is a terracotta plaque bearing in relief the figure of a goddess (Astarte?) with lotus, papyrus, reeds and serpent as her symbols. More productive than the dwellings of Beth Shemesh were the burial places immediately outside the walls. They provided a wealth of pottery with the usual geometric ornamentation, a great deal of it in excellent preservation.

Professor Grant has returned to the site of Beth Shemesh and is conducting further excavations there during the present winter.

C. H. KRAELING

YALE UNIVERSITY

PAGAN REGENERATION by *H. R. Willoughby*, octavo, pp. 307. Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1929.

A most excellent study of mystery initiation in the Graeco-Roman world by one who has a genuine appreciation of the positive religious forcee operative in the Hellenistic milieu as well as an insight into the differences between the religious a priori of the Hellenistic and that of the earlier Greek civilization. The rites performed in the cults of Demeter, Dionysus, Cybele, Mithra and Isis so far as they seem to enact or be associated with the idea of rebirth are described with great care and discrimination. In addition we have chapters on rebirth in the difficult Hermetic texts and in the still more difficult Philo. Willoughby's survey is thus complete save that he has taken no cognizance of the problem of the *Iranisches Erlösungsmysterium* so vital to the modern European discussion of the development of mystical thought (*cf.* Reitzenstein's publication under this title, 1921 as well as the 3 ed. of his *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen* 1927). In the case of Philo alone one wonders, after having read Willoughby, whether the concept of rebirth was truly present. Even the data from Harris' fragments of Philo used by Reitzenstein in his *Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, 1929 and not mentioned by Willoughby do not seem cogent. Even so Willoughby's book is the very best thing we have on the subject of regeneration in the English language.

C. H. KRAELING

YALE UNIVERSITY

A HISTORY OF EGYPT FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE XVIIITH DYNASTY, by *James Baikie*, vol. I, pp. 426 with 24 pages of illustrations; vol. II, pp. 403 with 24 pages of illustrations. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. \$10.50.

With this History of Egypt Dr. James Baikie has added another valuable work to his already numerous books on Egypt and the Near East. It will share the popularity of the others because it is both readable and authoritative and therefore makes an appeal to the general public and to the student alike. The illustrations, save for those of the final chapter which deals with "Amarna Art and Religion," are of those masterpieces of architecture and sculpture commonly reproduced, but without which no account of Egypt would seem complete. They serve admirably to illustrate a general history which makes no pretense of treating the art of the country more than casually. In the last chapter of the second volume, however, Dr. Baikie discusses the art of the Amarna Age in some detail, and weighs its artistic contributions with sound judgment. He considers it not as an isolated phenomenon, but in its proper relationship to the whole development of Egyptian art. "Bizarre and startling," lacking in the conventionality characteristic of

older art it is at first difficult to see how Amarna art grew out of past traditions. But as no art ever sprang into being un heralded, so, too, the art of the Amarna Age is not a new creation.

Compared with the Middle Kingdom the art of the New Empire had already made considerable progress in the direction of "greater grace and suavity" before the advent of the Amarna Age. To illustrate the humanizing tendency which was apparent early in the XVIII Dynasty Dr. Baikie calls attention to the schist statue of Thothmes III in the Cairo Museum. The modification of artistic ideals in the New Empire was also accompanied by modification of racial type particularly among the upper classes due especially to a strong infusion of Syrian blood which was brought about by the conquests of Thothmes III and his father. (Vol. II, pp. 342, 343.) This eastern influence was to result eventually in the deterioration of Egyptian art "for the Syrian craftsman, like most of his Semitic brethren, cared more for glitter and gorgeousness than for real dignity and purity of design."

Akhenaten did not create a new type of art any more than he created a new type of religion, but it is true that he hastened the tendency toward greater freedom and naturalism, emphasizing it to the point of exaggeration because of the domination of certain religious principles over his mind. His canon was "Living in Truth," a principle to be carried out in all branches of life and equally applicable to art, so that the sculptor or painter must represent things as nature made them, beautiful or ugly in accordance with reality. Adhered to strictly this principle might have accomplished much for the art of the Amarna Age, but unfortunately Akhenaten was deformed and it soon became fashionable to consider this deformity beautiful and to exaggerate it to the point of caricature. Realistic representation was of brief duration, but this impulse accompanied by the grace and subtlety of the New Empire is responsible for the incomparable head of Nefertiti in the Berlin Museum.

Dr. Baikie's concise account of this somewhat puzzling period is a welcome contribution to art history.

KATE MCK. ELDERKIN

PRINCETON, N. J.

MEDINET HABU 1924-28, by Harold H. Nelson and Uvo Hölscher. Oriental Institute Communications No. 5. The University of Chicago Press, 1929.

The fifth Communication of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago contains a preliminary report of the important work that has been carried out by the Institute in Egypt at the temple of Medinet Habu at Thebes since 1924. The work at this temple is the first step in a project for accurately recording all the temple inscriptions of Thebes and eventually of other sites, most of which have only been published in part, and in many cases inaccurately. After a foreword by Professor Breasted, describing the establishment and the task of the expedition, Professor Nelson, the field director, gives a sketch of the international events preceding the reign of Rameses III, the builder of the temple. He recounts the struggles in Syria, Asia Minor, and the Aegean, induced by the successive southward pressures of the Hittites and the archaic Greeks and tribes related to them and the incursions of the Libyans from west of the delta of the Nile. It was the wars waged against these peoples in the reign of Rameses III, sometimes against Aegeans and Libyans in alliance, and against the Nubians, that are celebrated in relief and inscription on the walls of the temple of Medinet Habu, the mortuary shrine of that king.

When the work of the Chicago expedition was begun attention was centered

chiefly on the inscriptions and their content, but it was found that the pictorial reliefs, from the points of view both of archaeology and art, were so full of new and interesting detail that it was determined to record them on a larger scale than had at first been intended, so that the publication might omit nothing which might be of interest and value to the student. This change in plan involved increasing the staff and scrapping a large part of the first two seasons' work. The close of the fourth season (1927-28) found the record completed of three of the five military campaigns whose story is told in picture and inscription on the walls of the temple. Of the twenty-one scenes recorded nine have never been published and as regards the others, their publications have been found by Professor Nelson and his associates to be inadequate by reason of errors and omissions. Reports that the reviewer has heard, from colleagues concerned in the work, especially in the matter of unexpected and highly interesting details of painting and sculpture in the reliefs, serve to whet the appetite for the first volume on the epigraphical side of the work, which it is hoped will appear in the summer of 1930.

On the architectural side Professor Hoelscher's work is what might be expected from his able studies of the pyramid-temple of Kha (ef-Rē) at Gizeh and of the gate-tower at Medinet Habu itself, twenty years ago. He has recovered the complete ground-plan of two brick palaces built successively by Rameses III on the same site, south of the outer court of the temple, and further than that he has ingeniously restored the transverse section of both palaces aided by indications on the outer side of the temple wall at the place where the palace connected with the temple. This work was carried out during the third and fourth seasons of the expedition and its results should prove as interesting as those which are to be published on the epigraphic side.

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TYPEN DER ARCHAISENCHEN ARCHITEKTUR IN GRIECHENLAND UND KLEINASIEN,
by Carl Weickert, 191 pages, 8 pages index. Augsburg, Dr. Benno Filser verlag
G. M. B. H., 1929.

A booklet such as this justifies the publication of doctoral dissertations. For surely no one but a student working for his degree would undertake such a careful and complete collection of material, with so little chance to draw conclusions therefrom.

Weickert has first divided his field of research into four sections, Geometric Period; Orientalising Period; First Half of the Sixth Century; Second Half of the Sixth Century, and has then written notices of all the known architectural remains of each period, classifying them further in accordance with the purpose of the structures and the types of plans. The amount of material in the different periods varies greatly, of course; only four examples—of which two are dubious—being given for the Geometric, while twenty-nine temples alone are listed for the late sixth century. The extent of the individual notices also varies greatly. In some cases only a few terra cottas bear witness to a vanished structure while in others the existing remains require three or four pages of description and commentary.

At the end of the second and fourth sections, there are short chapters of generalization. From the fragmentary nature of the material it is obviously impossible for these to be very conclusive and since new discoveries may at any day quite

change the picture of archaic Greek architecture, it is wise that these sections were not greatly developed.

The compilation seems complete, and the notices are carefully and intelligently written, with the result that we have here an extremely useful guide to a rather chaotic field of study. But the work can scarcely serve as more than a guide, for it is quite unillustrated.

Herein is the weakness of architectural dissertations; proper illustration is rarely possible, and no description, however careful, is wholly reliable without a conscientious plan of the building described. This is particularly true of fragmentary archaic remains, where groups of interrupted walls may often be interpreted in several different ways. An exposition wholly in words forces the writer to choose his interpretation, only a literal drawing can give unbiased facts.

Consequently in using this work as a basis for further study it will be necessary to refer repeatedly to the various publications from which the material has been collected in order to judge to what extent the remains are valid evidence of anything at all. But at least the study of source material will be greatly facilitated by this descriptive index with its bibliographic references, and for that we may be very grateful to the author.

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